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COVER

The intersection of St. Augustine's Cathedral and St. George streets (looking north on St. George), ca. 1954. Building on right was the Catholic rectory. Government House is on the left. Published as a postcard by the Duval News Company, Jacksonville. Photograph is from Patricia Wickman's postcard collection.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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FLORIDA LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES: THEIR GROWTH SINCE 1822

by ALLEN MORRIS

NINE of the thirteen members of Florida's first Legislative Council had reached Pensacola to take the oath of office on July 22, 1822.¹ Officers were elected the following day, and a committee of two was appointed to advise Governor William P. DuVal that the council was ready to proceed to business.² On the same day that the governor's message was received by the council, segments of it were referred to committees of four members "with authority to report by bill or otherwise" on matters relating to the judiciary and revenue.³ In immediate succession, other committees of three to five members were appointed to consider "the propriety of fixing the future seat of government," to draft a bill to "determine the qualifications of voters for Delegate to Congress," and to determine the expediency of incorporating the cities of St. Augustine and Pensacola.⁴ The council also created a committee of three to prepare its rules.

Councilman Edward Law of St. Augustine presented a petition from the Protestant Episcopal congregation of St. Augustine "praying for a limited charter." The petition was referred to Law and to his colleague George Murray, also of St. Augustine, "with authority to report thereon, by bill or otherwise."⁵ Councilman William R. Reynolds of St. Augustine presented a petition from "sundry inhabitants" there, "praying a limitation to contracts not under seal," which was referred to the judiciary committee.⁶

Allen Morris is clerk of the Florida House of Representatives and has been an observer of its proceedings since the session of 1941. He acknowledges the research assistance of Mrs. Lois Sadler, assistant clerk, and of Miss Mary McRory, Florida State Library.

1. *Pensacola Floridian*, July 27, 1822. For a history of the 1822 Legislative Council, see Allen Morris and Amelia Rea Maguire, "Beginnings of Popular Government in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVII (July 1978), 19-38.
2. Morris and Maguire, "Beginnings of Popular Government," 19-38.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. *Ibid.*

Thus, within the span of a day, the unicameral Legislative Council had adopted a lasting foundation for the Florida House of Representatives based upon both standing and select committees and for leaving to local delegations the determining of what should be done about matters of a strictly hometown nature.

All this came naturally to most, if not all, members of the council for the procedure was rooted in the English Parliament, transplanted to America by the Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania colonial assemblies, and finally adopted for the Congress of the United States. On that foundation of 1822 there has grown, in answer to the growth of population and the increase of social demands, changes in the influence and role of the standing committees. The years also have seen an expansion of the political power of the speaker and of committee chairmen. And there has been superimposed upon the traditional standing committee system in recent years a super-committee, the Committee on Rules and Calendar.

Standing committees are created with a life at least of the two-year term of a house, now two regular sessions, and usually carried over from one election of a house to the next with perhaps a change of name. The membership will change. Select committees are those established either by the speaker in his own right or by the speaker with the consent of the house, as temporary bodies to perform a specific task. Unless given the power by action of the house, a select committee cannot initiate legislation. Standing subcommittees are appointed by the speaker, after consultation with the chairmen of parent committees. Their membership is drawn from that of the parent standing committee. Select subcommittees may be appointed by committee chairmen, usually for short-term inquiries. Another type of select committee is the conference committee to adjust differences between the house and the senate over a specific piece of legislation. While conference committees meet jointly, they are composed of two committees, one from each house, with the majority votes of each necessary to an agreement.

Jameson reports the first fully developed standing committee of the modern American style was created in the English Parliament of 1592-1593.⁷ Parliament in 1653 began a systematic effort

7. J. F. Jameson, "The Origin of the Standing Committee System in

to refer business to committees by categories, much as does Florida today. Prior committees either were committees of the whole or select committees appointed to draft a specific statute. Standing committees of the Florida 1822 legislative session were created on a need basis, but the following year, when the Council met in St. Augustine, rules were adopted which provided for the following committees, each with three members: Finance, Judiciary, Militia, Claims, Enrolled Bills, Contingent Expenses of the Council, and, Location of the Seat of Government.⁸ Of these committees, only Judiciary remains in existence today by the same name, while two others have similar names: Finance is now Finance and Taxation, and Contingent Expenses of the Council has become House Administration. Claims has been absorbed by Judiciary.

When Florida became a state in 1845, there were twenty-six counties, and the legislature was bicameral. The house had eleven committees of no fewer than five members each.⁹ These included Agriculture, Claims, Corporations, Elections, Enrolled Bills, Finance and Public Accounts, Internal Improvements, Judiciary, Militia, Propositions and Grievances, and Schools and Colleges.

There were many small differences in the number of committees from the eleven of 1845, to the thirteen of 1856. Indian Affairs had been added in 1852.¹⁰ Federal Relations, as created in 1845, became Confederate Relations in 1861, was revived as Federal Relations in 1865, and passed out of existence in 1868.¹¹ Commerce and Navigation and State of the Commonwealth were added in 1858.¹² The recognition of urban needs came in 1868 with the creation of a Committee on City and County Organization.¹³ The 1868 house also found need for Committees on Public Lands, Railroads, Public Printing, State Institutions, and Legislative Expenditures.¹⁴

As a reflection of a matter of passing concern or to satisfy a member or an industry with a special legislative interest, standing committees have been appointed with a short life. For example,

American Legislative Bodies," *Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1893* (Washington, 1894), 393-99.

8. St. Augustine *East Florida Herald*, May 31, 1823.

9. *Florida House Journal*, June 1845, 17.

10. *Ibid.*, 1852, 22.

11. *Ibid.*, 1854, 31; 1861, 37-38.

12. *Ibid.*, 1858, 56.

13. *Ibid.*, 1868, 46.

14. *Ibid.*

Abolition Societies (1836 session), Post Routes (1887-1889), Woman's Suffrage (1919), Ranges and Cutover Lands (1919), Aviation and Radio (1929, thereafter split), Realtors and Agents (1927-1929), Americanism (1941-1943), Efficiency (1925, 1941-1943), Lobbying (1941-1943), Women's Rights (1945), Social Security (1951-1953), Red Tide (1955), Executive Communications (1965) and Mental Health and Retardation (1969-1970). Committees with the same or similar responsibilities may bear different names in different sessions. The choice of nomenclature has been that of the speaker. For instance, the committee responsible for overseeing the legal sale of beer, wine, and liquor has been known variously as the Committee on Temperance and the Committee on Alcoholic Beverages. When the pari-mutuel industry was added, the committee became Regulated Industries and Licensing. The pari-mutuel committee had been known variously as Public Amusements and Pari-mutuel Affairs; Commerce has been called Manpower and Development; Ethics has been Standards and Conduct, House Administration and Conduct, and Ethics and Elections. House Administration also has been styled Contingent Expenses of the Council, House Management, Efficiency, and Legislative Expenditures.

There has been a correlation between the number of counties, house members, and committees. As counties were created, the number of house members increased. However, there was a cap from 1845 until 1925 on committee membership from not less than five nor more than nine. This ceiling forced the creation of additional committees. So while the house had need for more committees because of the growth of the state, there also was the political necessity. For this reason there was a reluctance to abandon committees no longer needed. For example, the Committee on Indian Affairs, created in 1852, still was in existence in 1925. Then, as now, many members felt constituents would gauge their legislative importance by the number of committee appointments listed on their letterhead. There was also a patronage aspect; chairmen could influence the selection of, if not outright appoint, committee secretaries and other staff.

The apex in committee growth came in 1931 when there were seventy-six standing committees for the ninety-five members from sixty-seven counties.¹⁵ Thirty-eight committee chairmen and forty-

15. *Ibid.*, 1931, 13-15, 40, 46.

two vice chairmen were first-termers. Of the ninety-five members, only six were not appointed either as a chairman or vice chairman. The political rather than the legislative need for the number of committees may be inferred from the fact that twenty-one of the committees in 1931 never had a bill referred to them. Seven others received only one bill. Whatever hometown political advantage may have accrued from appointment as a chairman, vice chairman, or as a member on a committee regarded as prestigious cannot be said, but for one undetermined reason or another twenty-eight of the chairmen did not return for the 1933 session nor did twenty-nine of the vice chairmen.

In 1931 the ceiling on committee membership had been raised to seventeen.¹⁶ Ten committees had from thirteen to seventeen members; nine had eleven members; twenty-seven had nine members, and thirty had a membership of seven or less, but no committee had fewer than five members. From the seventy-six of 1931, the number of committees dropped session after session until the bottoming out with eighteen committees for 120 members during the biennium of 1974-1976.¹⁷

There were two events during the 1947 session which indicated a restiveness among the members over the number of committees. There were, for example, four judiciary committees, named Judiciary A, B, C, and D.¹⁸ These, and other overlapping jurisdictions, led to almost daily floor debates over the speaker's referrals. The house authorized a study of house rules preparatory to a general revision for the 1949 session.¹⁹ This study showed many committees with little or no purpose. During the same session, four members, including former Speaker Richard H. Simpson, introduced a resolution, which was adopted, urging a reduction to thirteen committees.²⁰ The subsequent rules revision, effective in the 1949 session, reduced the number of committees from fifty-five in 1947, to a minimum of twenty-two and a maximum of thirty in 1949.²¹ Speaker Perry E. Murray opted for thirty.²² This reduction was flawed however, because the

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., Organization Session, 1974, 6.

18. Ibid., 1947, 36.

19. Ibid., 1436-37.

20. Ibid., 491-92, 507, 542.

21. Ibid., 1949, 32.

22. Ibid., 11-13.

speaker was not limited in the number of members he could appoint to committees and, in an effort to satisfy requests for assignment to the prestigious committees, he named more members than could be accommodated in available rooms. This, in part, resulted in the return to fifty-six committees in 1951.²³ Another reduction came in 1967 with thirty-three committees (still with Judiciary A, B, C, and D).²⁴ There was a drop to twenty-nine for the annual session of 1969-1970, and twenty in 1971-1972 and 1973-1974, despite an increase from 119 to 120 in the number of house members.²⁵ After the low of eighteen in 1975-1976, the number increased to twenty-two in 1977-1978, twenty-three in 1979-1980, and twenty-four in 1981-1982.²⁶

An important change in the life of committees and of the house itself came in 1955 when Speaker Thomas E. (Ted) David scheduled meetings of committees and appointments of members so that no person served on committees with conflicting hours.²⁷ By so doing, David also did away with the necessity for proxy voting.²⁸ Incidentally helpful to committees, the speaker caused for the first time the printing of all general bills, with sufficient copies for legislators and the public.²⁹ Since 1913 there has been a rule stating "all meetings of all committees of the House shall be open to the public at all times." Until 1967, conference committees met in closed session because the senate had no rule requiring public meetings. Its public meetings rule was adopted in 1967, and conference committees became open.

Another notable change occurred in 1966 when the voters ratified a constitutional amendment which required the legislature to convene one week (now, two weeks) after the November general election for the purpose of organization.³⁰ The election of officers and adoption of rules made it possible for the speaker to appoint committees and for these committees to meet during the interim before the convening of the regular session in April,

23. *Ibid.*, 1951, 24.

24. *Ibid.*, 1967, 10.

25. *Ibid.*, Organization Session, 1968, 10-11; Organization Session, 1970, 8-9; Organization Session, 1972, 8.

26. *Ibid.*, Organization Session, 1974, 6; Organization Session, 1976, 10; Organization Session, 1978, 10; Organization Session, 1980, 8.

27. *Ibid.*, 1955, 28.

28. *Ibid.*, 29.

29. *Ibid.*, 24.

30. *Florida Constitution* (1885), Article III, Section 3(a).

unless changed by law for odd-numbered years as has been done for reapportionment years. This meant speakers could refer bills for committee consideration before the regular session began. Prior to the establishment of organization sessions in 1966, the speaker would announce his committee selections on either the first or second day of the convening of the regular session in April. He might indicate earlier his choice for the chairmen of the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Finance and Taxation because these persons needed to brief themselves in advance of the session. Otherwise, the announcements waited until the speaker was formally installed. Most members learned then for the first time what their responsibilities would be during the session. This meant that committees could not organize until well into the first week. This, and the absence for most committees of technical staff, contributed to their lack of time to do much more with bills than to take the word of proponents or opponents before making a judgment.

Speakers must consider carefully the makeup of committees; their decisions well may determine the public and colleague acceptance of their administration. A measure could be taken of the speaker's strengths. Elected through the political process, he must give preference to the desires of his supporters. He must search out those with the talent adequate to chair a committee, while also taking geographical representation into consideration. Other factors enter his decision-making, and when appointments have been made, the speaker, by showing his hand, has surrendered a portion of his clout. An example of how that power was exercised occurred during 1965 when E. C. Rowell was speaker.³¹ Rowell was committed to Representative George G. Stone as his successor. Before each Democratic member learned his committee assignments, Rowell called him into his office and asked whether he intended to vote for Stone in the Democratic caucus. Stone was present at some if not all of the confrontations. "I laid the limb on them," Rowell recalled. Stone won the nomination, but was killed in an automobile accident before election.

Speaker Donald L. Tucker of Tallahassee said he attempted to heed the requests of members for committee assignments as

31. Interview with E. C. Rowell, August 17, 1981.

best he could, and "everybody received at least one committee they asked for."³² Tucker observed that speakers had to be careful to balance the assignments or otherwise the neglect of one geographical section could result in its members joining the Republicans, after that party became a major factor in Florida politics, in a coalition uncomfortable for the speaker. Tucker regarded Appropriations, Finance and Taxation, and Education as the major committees (Rules being composed of the chairmen of the other committees), and he endeavored particularly to achieve a good geographical and political balance on these. Tucker noted that Representative James L. Redman, who had opposed him for renomination, subsequently was appointed chairman of the Committee on Education.

Seniority in the sense of its usage in the United States Congress is not a significant factor in appointments to Florida legislative committees. This is mainly because of the turnover in the membership of the house; the typical representative serves two terms. Longevity in service receives consideration primarily because of the experience this gives a member. Also, in a house whose members in 1981 were predominantly Democrats, no Republican held a chairmanship. This policy reduced the size of the pool of senior members available for appointments to chair committees. In 1981, of the seven most senior members of the house, two were chairmen.

Appointment to what may be regarded as a major committee could be ascribed undue importance. This is so because members of lesser committees have achieved expertise that has served them outside the legislature. A member who is an attorney and dedicates himself to legislation in a specialized field of the law, say the law of condominiums or of public utilities, may carve out a profitable private practice. It is true, however, that this practice may be limited by the 1976 Sunshine Amendment of the Florida Constitution, which forbids any legislator from representing another person or entity before any non-judicial state agency during the legislator's term and for two years thereafter.³³

The following table shows the party representation since 1965

32. Interview with Donald L. Tucker, August 4, 1981.

33. *Florida Constitution*, Article II, Section 8(e), ratified November 1976.

Regular Session Speaker	Party	House membership by party number and percentage		Committee members by party number and percentage					
				Rules		Appropriation		Finance	
1965 E. C. Rowell	Democrats	102	91.1%	22	100.0%	23	100.0%	22	100.0%
Biennial Session	Republicans	10	8.9%	0	0	0	0	0	0
1967 Ralph Turlington	Democrats	80	67.2%	21	87.5%	19	76.0%	21	80.8%
Biennial Session	Republicans	39	32.8%	3	12.5%	6	24.0%	5	19.2%
1969 Frederick Schultz	Democrats	77	64.7%	18	85.7%	17	70.8%	12	80.0%
First Annual Session	Republicans	42	35.3%	3	14.3%	7	29.2%	3	20.0%
1971 Richard A. Pettigrew	Democrats	81	68.1%	25	89.3%	21	77.8%	18	72.0%
First Session	Republicans	38	31.9%	3	10.7%	6	22.2%	7	28.0%
1973 Terrell Sessums	Democrats	77	64.2%	25	86.2%	23	79.3%	18	66.7%
First Session	Republicans	43	35.8%	4	13.8%	6	20.7%	9	33.3%
1975 Donald L. Tucker	Democrats	86	71.60%	22	84.6%	23	82.1%	12	70.6%
First Session	Republicans	34	28.3%	4	15.4%	5	17.9%	5	29.4%
1977 Donald L. Tucker	Democrats	93	77.5%	26	81.3%	24	82.8%	13	72.2%
Second Term	Republicans	27	22.5%	6	18.7%	5	17.2%	5	27.7%
1979 J. Hyatt Brown	Democrats	89	74.1%	27	81.8%	27	87.1%	19	82.6%
First Session	Republicans	31	25.9%	6	18.2%	4	12.9%	4	17.4%
1981 Ralph H. Haben, Jr.	Democrats	81	67.5%	29	82.9%	34	85.3%	22	77.3%
First Session	Republicans	39	32.5%	6	17.1%	5	14.7%	5	22.7%

FLORIDA LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEES

1.33

in the house, by number and percentage and on three major committees:³⁴

Typical of the starting point of speakers generally, Speaker William V. Chappell, Jr., had sent a pre-session questionnaire in 1961, which asked prospective members to indicate in numerical choice "at least sixteen committees of not more than two in any of the eight groups." Chappell also asked those responding to his questionnaire to state "the background or experience in the subject over which committee you prefer has jurisdiction."³⁵

Speaker Richard A. Pettigrew in 1970 sent out the questionnaire but built his committee structure with more weight given to the legislation he favored than to personalities. "I picked heavy-hitters who could advance the program," explained Pettigrew. A philosophical difference with Pettigrew over taxation ended the long tenure of Representative James H. Sweeny, Jr., who had served as chairman of the Committee on Finance and Taxation for seven sessions. Dropped from the committee, Sweeny did not run for reelection. Pettigrew gave much attention also to the selection of staff directors. He consulted with the chairmen about the kinds of people they would want as members, and he was influenced by talent, seniority, and geographical balance. In one instance, seniority gave the edge to a member who was appointed, however, with the understanding that the vice chairman, regarded by Pettigrew as more gifted in that area, would shoulder the responsibility for moving the bill which would be the principal work product of the committee that session.³⁶

To take advantage of the post-1966 ability to appoint standing committees for the interim, Speaker Frederick H. Schultz in 1969 instituted full-time staffs for committees. In prior years, the staff of a standing committee was recruited by the committee chairman at the beginning of the session. "Staff" usually meant the committee's secretary. Staff directors and analysts became routine with the Schultz program. In 1981, each of the house twenty-four standing committees had year-round staff ranging in number from three to sixteen persons.³⁷ Thus,

34. Compiled by Lois Sadler, assistant clerk of the house.

35. William V. Chappell, Jr., questionnaire in files of clerk of the house.

36. *Florida House Journal*, Special Session, February 1971, 91; interview with Richard A. Pettigrew, August 3, 1981.

37. Figures from office of Committee on House Administration.

members had the *first word*, through the origination of bills in committee, to the *last word*, the voting on legislation. After the first meetings of the new interim committees, Schultz wrote the members of the house: "In all likelihood, wider notice of proposed legislation and scheduled committee consideration of this legislation has been given during this interim than is possible during a regular session. I think it is safe to say that committees have had more time for the consideration of prefiled bills than is possible during the days of a session. Too, a comprehensive Interim Calendar has been sent to every Member of the House, plus every person and organization asking to be placed on the mailing list. . . . Again, the point is that the members of the Legislature and of the public quite likely have a better opportunity to learn of legislation and to express themselves than is possible during a session. I have stressed everywhere I have had the chance to do so that the committees are *neither rehearsing nor wheel-spinning*. Their actions are very much for real. With your help, the House of Representatives in 1969 will be able for the first time in the state's history to meet its responsibility as a full partner in the government."³⁸

In resisting the reduction of the number of committees in 1949 and in 1969, it was argued that speakers would lose control. For example, consolidation of four judiciary committees into one committee reduced the ability of the speaker to refer a judiciary bill either to a committee known to him to be friendly or hostile to the bill. (Judiciary D was recognized in a number of sessions as the speaker's "killer committee.") On the other hand was the fact that today's speakers are less susceptible to efforts by members to have a bill sent to a certain committee since choice has been reduced.

Yet speakers have retained very considerable powers, written and unwritten. Chairmen, members, staff, and every house employee serve at his pleasure; he may appoint additional members of a committee or remove committee members; he assigns office space for committees and parking space for members; determines where members shall sit in the chamber; controls the budget of a committee; and he keeps the "goody book," a listing of out-of-state conferences which chairmen, members, and staff may wish

38. Memorandum from Speaker Frederick H. Schultz to house members, January 21, 1969.

to attend. Perhaps more important than a speaker's power to reward or punish are the persuasive qualities of leadership which caused his fellows to choose him in the first place.

Speaker Donald Tucker, who was renominated for a second term on January 14, 1976, replaced the next day a chairman who had not supported him at the Democratic caucus.³⁹ When the house reorganized for his second term, he did not reappoint still another chairman whom he felt had failed him. In 1951, Speaker B. Elliott overnight in the seventh week of the session appointed six additional members to the Committee on Public Amusements which in its original membership had indicated it would report unfavorably a bill in which he was very interested.⁴⁰

Responding to complaints that some past chairmen had been overbearing, Speaker J. Hyatt Brown in 1979 caused to be adopted a rule that allowed chairmen to be removed either by the speaker "for cause" or upon a petition signed by two-thirds of the members of the committee, exclusive of the chairman, and ratified by majority vote of the whole house.⁴¹

With the reduction in the number of standing committees it became apparent that they could not cope adequately with the business referred to them. In 1967, there were 1,792 general bills and joint resolutions (state constitutional amendments) introduced; in 1969, 1,846; in 1970, 2,183; in 1971, 1,842.⁴² An example of the committee work load occurred in 1972 when Chairman Terrell Sessums of the Committee on Education, explaining why a certain bill had not been heard, told the house that the bill had been "agendaed" but not reached on February 21, again "agendaed" and again not reached on March 1, and again "agendaed" for March 2, having meantime achieved sixth place on the list of bills for consideration by the education committee. Sessums said the committee had acted on forty-four bills and still had 112. Despite Sessums's statement of good intentions, because of the expiration of the time allowed in committee after request for hearing had been given by the sponsor under the rule, the bill auto-

39. Letter from Speaker Tucker to Representative Barry Kutun, January 15, 1976.

40. *Florida House Journal*, 1951, 1059.

41. *Ibid.*, 1979, 10-11.

42. Records of Clerk of the House.



Senator Scott Kelly, left, of Lakeland, goes over Road Commissioner bill with House committee members Cecil G. Costin, Jr. of Gulf County (center) and Ralph A. Erickson, of Sarasota County. 1961.



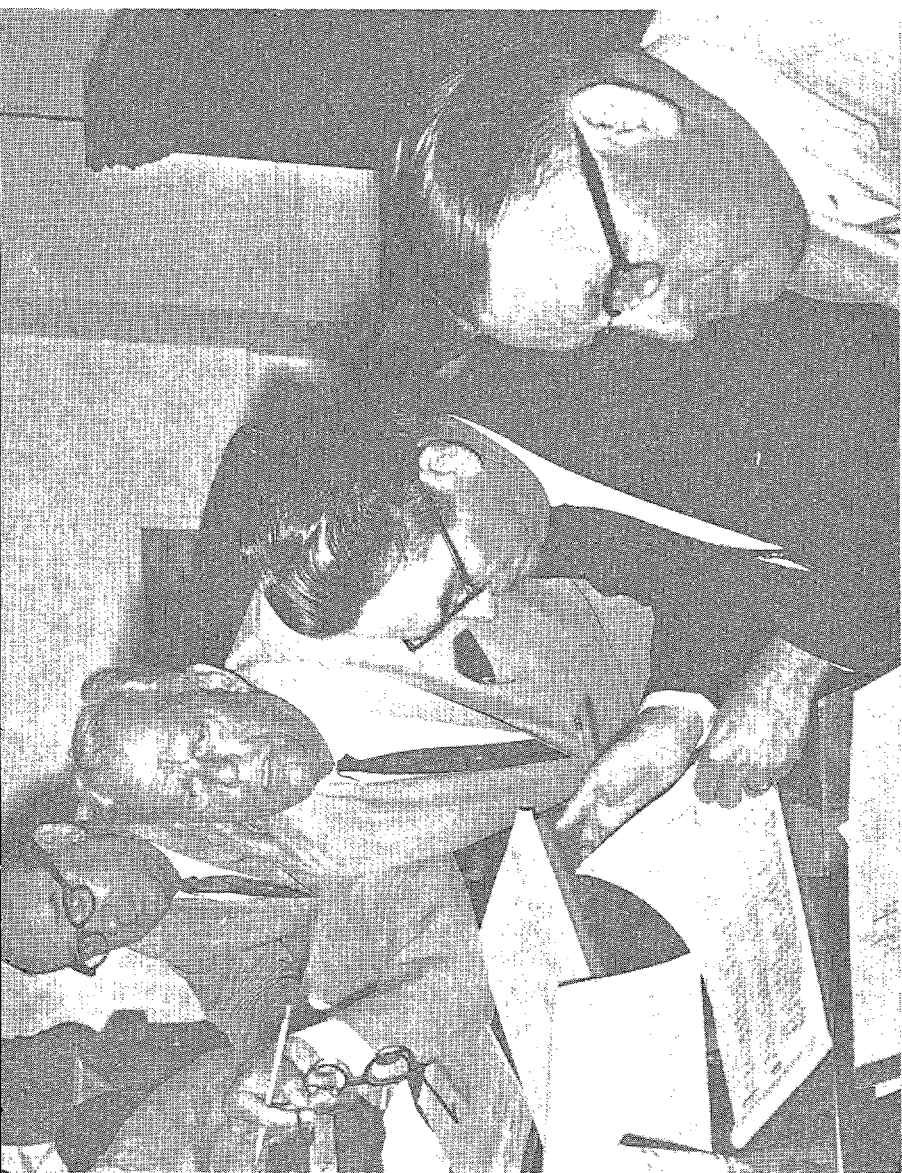
Representative Ben Hill Griffin, of Polk County, (standing) is pictured with Representative H. E. Lancaster, Gilchrist County, (seated, left) and Representative William Wadsworth, of Flagler County. 1961.



House sponsors of conflict of interest bill (standing) are Representative Woodie Liles, Hillsborough County, and Representative Beth Johnson of Orange County. Senate members considering the 1961 bill are (seated, l. to r.): Charley Johns, Stank; G. J. (Doc) Melton, Lake City; and Scott Kelly of Lakeland.



House committee members in session (1961) are (l. to r.): Representatives Beth Johnson of Orlando, and Rupert Jason Smith of Fort Pierce.



Senate committee meeting (1961) includes (l. to r.): Edwin G. Fraser of Macclenny; Verle A. Popc of St. Augustine; G. W. (Dick) Williams of Wauchoula; and Charley E. Johns of Starke.



Senator J. Emory (Red) Cross of Alachua County (center) pushes for construction of junior college buildings. Also shown are Senator J. S. (Tar) Boyd, Leesburg, (left) and Senator Bernard Parrish of Titusville, 1961.



House members discussing 1961 reapportionment plan are (l. to r.): Mack N. Cleveland, Seminole County; Reubin O'D. Askew, Escambia County; Carcy Matthews, Dade County; and Mallory Horne, Leon County.



Senator James E. (Nick) Connor of Inverness addresses Senate committee meeting. Seated are: Senator B. C. Pearce of Palatka (left); insurance lobbyist Broward Williams (center back); and Senator John Sutton of Orlando (right), 1961.

matically was removed from the committee and placed on the calendar on a point of order.⁴³

This overload resulted in the creation of subcommittees, first on an ad hoc or informal basis within committees; then in 1974, formally, with subcommittees given the power to report bills favorably, unfavorably, or favorably with amendments to the parent committee.⁴⁴ A bill reported unfavorably could be reconsidered in the parent committee upon the request of any member of the committee agreed to, without debate, by a majority. In 1980, this was changed to require a two-thirds vote for the parent committee consideration.⁴⁵ Also in 1980 there was written into the rules a 1971 precedent which declared that the reference of a bill to a subcommittee constituted "action."⁴⁶ This effectively nullified the ability of a member to cause the withdrawal from committee and placement on the calendar of any bills on which a committee had not acted within fourteen days (thirty in Appropriations or Finance and Taxation).

There were forty-six standing subcommittees in 1981 with an average membership of six. This meant four members constituted a quorum and three a majority in the reporting of a bill. The rule requires subcommittees of not less than five members. Those subcommittees which had five members, and in 1981 five did, could qualify for a quorum with three members present and two members would be a majority. Thus, a member whose pet bill has been killed by a two-member majority of a subcommittee well might regard himself as not better off than in the years prior to the reorganization of committees in 1969. An answer, however, might be that the decision of a two-member majority of a subcommittee will be reviewed by the parent committee.⁴⁷ It is technically true that the judgment of a committee could be reviewed by the house, but it has seldom given the two-thirds vote necessary to revive a bill killed in committee. When a motion is made to take a bill from the table, the issue is changed from considering the merits of a bill to maintaining the integrity of the committee system. Many members who may be in favor of a measure will vote against its revival because, as members themselves of three or

43. *Florida House Journal*, 1972, 525.

44. *Ibid.*, Organization Session, 1974, 7.

45. *Ibid.*, 1980, 241.

46. *Ibid.*, 133.

47. *Ibid.*, 241.

more committees, they feel that support of committee judgments is simply more important than taking the bill from the table.

In the beginning and for many years, committees were only advisory. A committee could report a bill unfavorably, but it nevertheless went on the calendar. A period of transition began in 1907 when the rules required the chairman of a committee unfavorably reporting a bill to move for its indefinite postponement when that bill was reached on the calendar.⁴⁸ In 1931, the rule again was modified. The bill would then be laid on the table unless the committee, or one of its members, or any representative, within five days after the committee report, requested the bill's reference to the calendar.⁴⁹ This request would be honored without the necessity of a motion. In 1933, the rule was changed to reduce the number of days to two and to require a majority vote.⁵⁰ In 1941, the rule was tightened to require a two-thirds vote.⁵¹

In 1953, the rule again was changed to substantially the present language. A bill unfavorably reported would be laid on the table, although it could be placed on the calendar on the motion of any member, if it was also agreed to by a two-thirds vote.⁵² Such a motion is seldom made since the regular calendar has become a shelf listing of bills available to the Committee on Rules and Calendar in making up the Special Order Calendar. Except by waiver of the rules, rarely accomplished, the house considers only bills placed on the Special Order Calendar. Incidentally, relatively few bills placed on the Special Order Calendar fail to pass. For the 1981 session, 413 bills were placed on the Special Order Calendar, and 372, or ninety per cent, were considered and passed by the house. Seven bills failed of passage, and thirty-four others were disposed of by being withdrawn, recommitted to standing committees, or by other action. Significant is the fact that every bill placed on the Special Order Calendar, 413, was considered in some matter by the house through floor action. In 1980, the number taken up, withdrawn, or recommitted, was 514 or ninety-four per cent of those on the Special Order Calendar;

48. *Florida House Rules*, 1907 Session, Rule 53.

49. *Ibid.*, 1931 Session, Rule 71.

50. *Ibid.*, 1933 Session, Rule 70.

51. *Ibid.*, 1941 Session, Rule 73.

52. *Ibid.*, 1953 Session, Rule 72.

in 1979, 548 or ninety-two per cent; and in 1978, 569 or eighty-six per cent.⁵³

Ratification of the 1966 constitutional amendment requiring the organization session in November also made possible another significant change in legislative activities. This change was the evolution of the Committee on Rules and Calendar as the gatekeeper on what and when the house might consider the bills that had been reported favorably, or had been withdrawn from the committees of reference. Prior to the organization amendment, there was a period of a week or more of the nine-week session when relatively little was done in the chamber after the election of officers and the receiving of the Governor's message. The reason for this chamber inactivity was that virtually all the work was being done in committees. With the organization amendment, committees commenced producing legislation months in advance of the convening of the session. Because of their nature, the first bills usually to reach the calendar still were of a noncontroversial nature. It was pointed out to Speaker Schultz that if some bills could be taken up out of order in the first days of the session, giving preference to newsworthy legislation, it might assure the people of Florida that their legislators were meaningfully employed. The rule was then revised allowing the Committee on Rules and Calendar to submit for each day beginning with the first day of the session a Special Order Calendar in 1969 and 1970, not to exceed three bills or joint resolutions. The house would then take up the Regular Order Calendar.⁵⁴

The Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University, in a survey of the Florida legislature after the three-bill rule was adopted, but before the first session of its use, applauded the innovation. The non-controversial bills of the first days, Eagleton found, caused members to be lulled into "a state of lethargy." By bringing significant legislation before the house each day from the start of a session, "the Rules Committee will help to create an atmosphere of seriousness of purpose and commitment. . . . Furthermore in a House which annually [*sic*] indoctrinates a large number of new legislators, such a procedure should enable fresh-

53. Compiled by Edith McLendon, Lou Dorlag, and Anne Buchan of the clerk's staff.

54. *Florida House Rules*, 1969-1970 Sessions, Rule 6.10.

men members to acquire quickly a sense of participation in the molding of significant state policy.⁵⁵

The three-bill rule worked outso well that in 1971 Speaker Pettigrew had the rule amended so as to delete the three-bill limitation.⁵⁶ This effectively put the business of the house in the hands of the Committee on Rules and Calendar.⁵⁷ It was also declared that the chairman of each standing committee would serve as an ex officio member of the Committee on Rules and Calendar. This has been continued. In announcing the change, Pettigrew told the house: "The Rules and Calendar Committee will no longer be a power broker's committee but a committee responsible for insuring an orderly handling of the work product of each committee. Each chairman well be responsible for getting his committee's major work product on the floor for debate in accordance with a prescribed schedule. Members will have more advance notice than ever before of the calendar to be considered."

The rule, however, provided that a Special Order Calendar was good only for the day specified. The chairman of the rules committee, like other chairmen, possessed considerable discretionary authority in setting the Special Order Calendar. And the chairman, not the rules committee, determined the order of the bills listed on the Special Order Calendar. These two traditional powers vested extraordinary authority in the rules chairman as he sifted the grist from all of the other committees of the house. As a frustrated representative once exclaimed, "there is too much politics in politics," and the Special Order Calendar lent itself to manipulation.⁵⁸ A member whose bill was on today's Special Order Calendar might find it missing from tomorrow's. Or, a bill which had advanced close to the top of today's Special Order might be found near the bottom tomorrow.

A critic of what he described as the "power functions" of the house's leaders, former Representative Tom R. Moore, once identified the chairman of the Committee on Rules and Calendar as second only to the speaker, a most powerful representative.⁵⁹

55. C. Lynwood Smith, Jr., *Strengthening the Florida Legislature*, (Rutgers University Press, 1970).

56. *Florida House Rules*, 1971-1972 Sessions, Rule 6.10.

57. *Florida House Journal*, Organization Session, 1970, 10.

58. Representative J. Troy Peacock, Jackson County, during 1947 session, *The Florida Handbook, 1949-1950* (Tallahassee, 1949), 97.

59. Tom R. Moore, "The Power Within," *Florida State University Law Review*, V (Fall 1977), 611-13.

"If he remains in favor of his elected presiding officer, this individual exercises substantial control over the flow of legislation to the chamber floor." Moore noted that the Special Order Calendar was the procedural device for effectuating this control. For example, he cited his bill of the 1976 session, relating to mobile homes, which the minority leader (a Republican) caused to be placed on the Special Order Calendar as an accommodation to Moore, a Democrat. Moore wrote that the bill "was listed for several days on the Special Order Calendar and then removed with little chance of ever again appearing there." Moore said his bill ultimately became law only because, at his request, another Republican legislator agreed to amend the text into a bill which the other legislator had on the same subject.

According to Moore, the Special Order Calendar was important because a bill usually will not be placed on this calendar "if the chair of the committee reporting it actively opposes it, since committee chairs tend to establish collectively a policy of 'you stay out of my bailiwick and I'll stay out of yours.'" Moore made public his complaints about the method of compiling the Special Order Calendar, but other members grumbled. This may have contributed to the change of house leadership in the Democratic caucus of April 12, 1977, which saw the nomination of J. Hyatt Brown for speaker.

When Ralph H. Haben, Jr., a Brown lieutenant, became chairman of the Committee on Rules and Calendar for the 1979 regular session, he pledged that once a bill was placed on the Special Order Calendar it would remain, moving up as bills ahead of it were disposed of.⁶⁰ This policy was followed when Haben became speaker for the 1981 regular session and Samuel P. Bell, III, was appointed chairman of the rules committee. In addition to standing committee chairmen, the rules committee was composed in 1981 of the majority and minority leaders, the speaker pro tempore, minority leader pro tempore, majority whip, minority whip, and three other members of the minority party— a total of thirty-five committee members.

The entrusting of the Calendar to the Committee on Rules and Calendar had slowly evolved from the problems of considering an ever increasing volume of legislation spawned by a

60. Chairman Ralph H. Haben, Jr. to rules committee, December 5, 1978.

growing state during a session limited by the Constitution to sixty days, including Saturdays and Sundays. This caused agitation for a relaxing of the rules on taking up bills out of order. In 1907, the rules required unanimous consent to accomplish this, unless the bill was one of "public importance" and its consideration had been requested by a committee.⁶¹

By 1923 the rules committee (calendar was added to the title in 1937) was given the authority to report special rules, subject to approval of the house by majority vote, to "some general head of business" rather than specific bills.⁶² Such a special order had a life of only one legislative day. In 1931, the rules committee set aside two weeks for the consideration of bills relating to finance and taxation, education, and banking. Two years later, the first mention was made of a Special Order Calendar; House Rule 24-A provided "the Rules Committee may, from day to day, during the last fourteen days of the session, submit a special order calendar for the consideration of the House." The rule was amended in 1937 to extend control of the Committee on Rules and Calendar to the last twenty-five days; in 1955 to the last thirty days; and in 1963 to the last forty days. The rule was then amended in 1969 to give the rules committee control of the calendar for the entire session with the three-bill limitation during the first thirty days. This limitation was deleted in 1971.

Under the revised rules of 1949, bills left over from a day's Special Order Calendar went to the head of the regular calendar if they were not first placed on the next day's Special Order Calendar. Representative Moore found in this the "first indication that the 'Special Order Calendar' had some political implication beyond the mere 'public importance' of the legislation. The intent of the 1907 Rules to expedite consideration of 'bills of public importance' had by 1949 become a mechanism to manipulate priority of numerous individual bills even though some clearly were not important enough to make their way back onto the Special Order Calendar for the 'next legislative day.'" ⁶³

Four kinds of calendars have been used in the house since 1969. For convenience, they have been color-coded. The regular

61. *Florida House Rules*, 1907 Session, Rule 32.

62. *Ibid.*, 1923 Session, Rule 25.

63. Memorandum by Representative Tom R. Moore, "The 'Special Order Calendar' in Historical Perspective," 1976, 3.

Calendar, utilized primarily to give notice of committee meetings, is white; the Special Order Calendar is pink; Local Bill Calendar is blue; and Consent Calendar is yellow. The Local Bill and Consent Calendars may be used once or twice in a regular session.

Meetings of the rules committee to set the end-of-the-session order of business during the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s took various patterns, but were always extremely tense. Getting on the Special Order Calendar often could mean the realization or dashing of hopes for two years by proponents of pending legislation. Under some rules chairmen in the 1940s, a rules meeting resembled the frantic scene of the Chicago commodities exchange, with members and lobbyists in the crowded committee room shouting out bill numbers in the hope of their being accepted. In later years, more orderly schemes were used. During the chairmanship in 1963 of William V. Chappell, Jr., afterwards speaker, the rules committee was split into subcommittees of three members which brought in recommendations for the calendar. When E. C. Rowell, a former speaker, was chairman, each member of the committee in rotation was given the opportunity of putting a bill on the calendar for the regular sessions of 1967, 1969, and 1970. But even in the 1970s anxiety and confusion often attended the making up of the Special Order Calendar. Murray H. Dubbin, chairman 1971-1974 of the rules committee, once said: "I start walking down the corridor and I end up getting papered— you know, people shoving papers at me, stuffing them in my pockets." The papers were reminders of legislation for the Special Order Calendar.⁶⁴ Regardless of the procedure, it always was understood that the current speaker had the right to place a number of bills at the top of the Special Order Calendar. In several instances in the 1960s there was a suspicion that the speaker's aide conveying the daily list had added bills on his own. In two such instances this practice came to an end when the rules chairman had the list verified personally with the speaker.

A memorandum to the clerk of the house from the staff director of the rules committee detailed the procedure to be followed for the 1981 session: for a bill to reach the Special Order Calendar, it had to have been reported favorably by all committees of reference. This meant the bill had reached the regular calendar

64. Interview with Murray H. Dubbin, *Miami Herald*, May 30, 1971.

where it was available for consideration by the rules and calendar committee. The committee voted to require all general bills, concurrent and joint resolutions, and memorials to have a special order request form signed by the chairmen of all committees of reference of those measures. Bills filed by minority party members needed the initials of the minority leader.⁶⁵ Local bills passed out of their committees of reference were automatically placed on a Local Bill Calendar which was heard on two occasions during the session. These bills did not require special order request forms. The agenda of bills to be placed on the Special Order Calendar was presented by Samuel P. Bell, III, chairman of the Committee on Rules and Calendar, who had developed his agenda based upon requests from the majority and minority leadership, committee chairmen, members, departments, the governor and cabinet members, and various lobbyists. To insure the accuracy of lists kept in preparation for establishing the agenda, Bell also reviewed the computer printouts of bill titles and numbers. This provided a means for confirming that all bills on the agenda were in fact on the calendar. Once the decision was made about bills to be placed on the agenda, the rules and calendar committee met at the call of the chairman. It would then vote on whether bills on the agenda should be placed on the Special Order Calendar. On rare occasions, a bill would be added to or deleted from the chairman's original agenda. Bills voted on favorably by the committee would be added to the Special Order Calendar in sequence determined by the chairman. Bills already on the Special Order Calendar were not deleted or reordered without a floor vote or vote in committee.

The prerogatives of any standing committee chairman are unwritten, but in time they have gained the force of rules. The chairman decides the bills to be considered at a meeting so notice may be given members and the public, determines their order on the agenda, and may elect at his pleasure to give priority to legislators present by taking up their bills out of order. He could, but likely will not, delay the reporting of committee action to the clerk of the house, thereby stalling its availability for further action. Representative Marshall S. Harris, as chairman of the

65. Memorandum to clerk from John B. Phelps, staff director, Committee on Rules and Calendar, August 13, 1981.

Committee on Appropriations for the sessions of 1971-1974, held his members in session until late at night to cope with the volume of bills referred to Appropriations. He also put at the end of the agenda those measures he did not favor in the hope that some sponsors might weary and leave as midnight neared. Speaker Terrell Sessums had such a bill. While speakers usually enjoy the privilege of being heard first if they find it necessary to attend a committee meeting, Harris did not extend that courtesy to Sessums. After having been delayed past midnight, Sessums caused the adoption of a new house rule forbidding any committee meeting to last beyond 10 p.m. "unless granted special leave by the Speaker to do so."

Until the organization session of 1980, committee members often were confronted by "proposed committee bills." Generally, these were drafted by staff at the request of the chairman, and since they were not bills in the usual sense, not having been introduced, many never appeared on the agenda. When the chairman announced that the committee would take up this proposed bill, he possessed a considerable advantage over the members of his committee, for in all likelihood they never had heard of the measure, much less having had the opportunity to read it. This so irritated Representative Ralph H. Haben, Jr., that before he formally became speaker in November 1980, he had a rule drafted to require PCBs to be agendaed publicly as other bills, with copies sent all members of a committee, other legislators, and the public.⁶⁶

Representative Moore, a member of the 1976-1978 house, described the Committee on Appropriations and the Committee on Finance and Taxation as "super committees."⁶⁷ They were two of the maximum of three committees to which a speaker could refer a bill. The speaker has unlimited discretion in deciding whether a measure should be referred to one or another or both of those committees for a determination of fiscal impact. A motion to withdraw a bill from these committees (as with others) requires a two-thirds vote, and the bill then has to face the hurdle of the Committee on Rules and Calendar.

In 1981, there were 963 general bills referred to committees; of these, 493 were referred to the Committee on Appropriations

66. *Florida House Rules*, 1981-1982 Sessions, Rule 6.17.

67. Moore, "The Power Within," 613.

and 112 died in that committee. The Committee on Finance and Taxation received 104 referrals, with forty-two remaining at the end of the session. Those figures contain duplications since the speaker referred some bills to both committees. Also, there are duplications from senate bills having been acted upon and their house companions being left in committee.⁶⁸

Moore complained that the two committees often "rehash substantive matters on controversial bills which have been thoroughly debated in public hearings before other committees."⁶⁹ An extreme example of a chairman overriding not only his committee but both the house and the senate occurred in 1945 when the chairman went home, and the original bill, passed by the senate twenty-nine to three could not be found. The chairman appeared to have exercised a pocket veto. This happened on the next to the last day of the session, forestalling the passage of a new bill through both houses. Instead, the house entered in the journal the affidavit of the clerk of the house that "diligent and exhaustive search" had failed to locate the original but that the quadruplicate copy then in her possession was "an exact carbon copy." The house proceeded to pass the copy by a vote of seventy-one to three and certified the measure to the senate for consideration of a house amendment. The senate journal does not show the receiving of the copy. In any event, it was conceded at the time that the passage of the copy was symbolic for only the original bill could be recognized.⁷⁰

With all bills now being photographically reproduced it still is regarded as essential to have the original bill before the committee or the house when action is being taken. It is the original bill, with the notations by the clerk of the house and secretary of the senate, that goes to the governor and secretary of state. This bill is accompanied by a copy enrolled on rag paper. This copy is signed in attestation by the speaker and clerk and the president and secretary.

The broad power of house committees to oversee the functioning of government was established in court decisions stemming from the controversies in 1969 between the Democratic Party leadership with Republican Governor Claude R. Kirk, Jr. The

68. Figures from records of the clerk.

69. Moore, "The Power Within," 613.

70. *Florida House Journal*, 1945, 1188-90.

Florida Supreme Court quoted the United States Supreme Court which had found that the power of committees "compasses inquiries concerning the administration of existing laws as well as proposed or possibly needed statutes. It includes surveys of defects in our social, economic or political system for the purpose of enabling Congress to remedy them."⁷¹

Thus the legislation which emerges from the House of Representatives has been put through a double screen beginning with standing committees. The second examination is by the Committee on Rules and Calendar in its present role as gatekeeper.

Woodrow Wilson, writing as a graduate student of political science, would have found in the system in Florida the counterpart of the United States House of Representatives which he described as government by standing committees: "It legislates in its committee rooms; not by the determinations of majorities, but by the resolutions of specially commissioned minorities."⁷² Yet it would be a mistake to believe the Florida House of Representatives meets as a whole only to ratify the decisions of its committees. Floor debate is an educational process which the unprepared committee chairman faces at his peril as the chamber sponsor. Debate may spawn amendments which will materially alter the bill. Debate may change votes but the committees are the first and highest hurdle. Offensive as the system may seem to those who believe in pure majorities, the committee system is the only way of coping in a relatively short session with the mass of proposed laws.

71. *Hagaman v. Andrews*, Florida Supreme Court, 232 So. 201.

72. Woodrow Wilson, *Congressional Government* (Cleveland, 1956, originally published, 1885), 62, 82.

ENCOUNTER AT THE AUCILLA, 1862

by KATHARINE JACKSON WILLIS AND WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

THE Civil War was more than dramatic sieges, heroic charges, and bloody encounters. There were numerous isolated and little-publicized acts of valor and triumph on both sides. If such affairs did not directly influence the outcome of the war, they hid a special poignance of their own. For Southerners who increasingly learned to endure the painful news of costly mistakes, defeats, and reversals, such individual triumphs were particularly welcome. One example of courage and success occurred on June 2, 1862, in a remote theatre of the conflict: Florida.

The incident involved a man bearing the patriotic name of George Washington Scott. He was born in Alexandria, Pennsylvania, on February 22, 1829. Unhealthy as a young man, he made a trip to Florida in 1850, seemed to improve, and moved to the state permanently in 1851. He and his Pennsylvania-born wife settled first at Quincy and shortly afterward moved to Tallahassee. There Scott established a successful mercantile business which he combined with the operation of a plantation just south of town.¹

As the sectional crisis which would result in a civil war deepened, Scott strongly defended the southern position. On March 5, 1861, he entered a local military company, the Tallahassee Guards, as a sergeant. Later the Tallahassee Guards were mustered into Confederate service, and Scott became a second

Katharine Jackson Willis lives in Tallahassee and is a graduate student in history at Florida State University. William Warren Rogers is professor of history, Florida State University.

1. For accounts of Scott see Marion B. Lucas, "Civil War Career of Colonel George Washington Scott," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LVIII (October 1979), 129-49; Clifton L. Paisley, "How to Escape the Yankees: Major Scott's Letter to His Wife at Tallahassee, March 1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, L (July 1971), 53-61. For Tallahassee and Leon County see Bertram H. Groene, *Ante-Bellum Tallahassee* (Tallahassee, 1971); Clifton L. Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail: An Agricultural Chronicle of Leon County, Florida, 1860-1967* (Gainesville, 1968); and Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth in Antebellum Florida 1821-1860* (Gainesville, 1968).

lieutenant in Company D, Second Florida Cavalry. The unit was officially organized in early March 1862, and was commanded by Captain Peres Bonney Brokaw of Tallahassee.² The entire Second Florida Cavalry was comprised of ten companies and was active in defense of Confederate stores and supplies around Jacksonville. Brokaw resigned in May 1862, and was succeeded by Scott as captain. Although still called the Tallahassee Guards, the men were also known as "Scott's Company."³

There were various reorganizations in the months that followed. By 1863, Scott was a lieutenant colonel and commanded "Scott's Cavalry," Fifth Battalion. He would see extended service in defense of Florida. The activities of the battalion have never been adequately recorded, but it contained eight companies and operated in the back country and marshy stretches of middle and eastern Florida. Highly mobile, Scott's men were stationed in such places as Marianna, Chattahoochee, Quincy, and Tallahassee.⁴

Part of being a citizen-soldier was being a citizen, and even during the fighting Scott continued to farm and manage his business. He purchased slaves in 1862 and 1863, and engaged in the profitable but risky business of making salt. He and Peres B. Brokaw, his old companion in arms, formed a partnership and established a salt works at the small port town of Newport, located on the St. Marks River about twenty miles south of Tallahassee. St. Marks, another port, was nearby. Down river several miles from both towns at Apalachee Bay was St. Marks lighthouse. Because the whole area was a center of salt manufacturing and blockade running, it drew the close attention of the East Gulf Coast Blockading Squadron.⁵

2. Lucas, "Civil War Career of Scott," 130; Michael Schene, "Peres Bonney Brokaw: Tallahassee Entrepreneur," *Apalachee*, VIII (1971-1979), 35; Confederate Muster Rolls Survey, Florida, III, n. p., bound volumes of typescript in Florida State University Library, Tallahassee; Mary W. Keen, compiler, "Some Phases of Life in Leon County During the Civil War," *Tallahassee Historical Society Annual*, IV (1939), 33-41.

3. *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 128 vols. (Washington, 1880-1891), XXVIII, Pt. II, 470, 604; XLVII, Pt. II, 1073 (hereinafter cited as *O.R.*); Confederate Muster Rolls Survey, Florida, III.

4. *O.R.*, Ser. IV, III, 45; Lucas, "Civil War Career of Scott," 130.

5. A good study is Stanley L. Itkin, "Operations of the East Gulf Blockade Squadron in the Blockade of Florida 1862-1865," (Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1962). See also Jerrell H. Shofner, *Daniel Ladd: Merchant*

Out of these circumstances grew the episode on the Aucilla River. A smaller stream than the St. Marks, the Aucilla flowed south and emptied into the Gulf at Apalachee Bay. The East Gulf Squadron maintained a blockade off the coast and made sporadic sorties on the lighthouse and points on the mainland.

In May 1862, Scott's Company was camped in Wakulla County which lay directly south of Leon County and extended to the sawgrass marshes of the coast. Deciding to scout the east bank of the Aucilla River, Scott took fourteen men and five days' provisions. They left at three o'clock on Friday afternoon, May 30. At seven the following evening the small band arrived at the edge of the Aucilla swamp. Summer had already set in, and the men spent a restless night fighting mosquitoes and flies. On Sunday, June 1, the party picketed their horses, secured the services of Jacob Chancy as a guide, and at 1:30 in the afternoon entered the swamp along an old trail. Chancy, a native of Taylor County, was one of few people knowledgeable enough to traverse the seemingly impenetrable swamp.⁶

The men carried three-days' provisions on their backs. On the orders of Scott, who wanted to get as close as possible to the coast, Chancy led the unit across a morass of bog to a point about two miles from the mouth of the Aucilla River. The site, which they reached at seven that night, was nine miles from their horses and sixty-five miles from the company's camp. Their march had been difficult, and, according to Scott, the men had "waded most of the way through mud and water."⁷

Even after the soldiers made camp, there was still light. Examining the area near the Aucilla, the Confederates found evidence of Union forces having been there. Scott left the squad in charge of Sergeant W. G. Lester, took Chancy and a soldier, and moved forward to reconnoiter the river bank. Shortly, the three Southerners saw smoke, and, moving slowly, came upon a Federal camping ground. It had only recently been abandoned because several fires still smoldered. They discovered some stacks of

Prince of Frontier Florida (Gainesville, 1978), 116-30, and Lucas, "Civil War Career of Scott," 131.

6. Captain George W. Scott to Brigadier General Joseph Finegan, June 4, 1862. His official report does not appear in *O.R.* but is published in *Tallahassee Florida Sentinel*, June 10, 1862. Hereinafter cited as "Scott's Report."

7. "Scott's Report."

sawed wood ready to be loaded, and scattered around were a number of Boston and New York newspapers. What seemed less than tight security really was not because, as the Union soldiers explained later, they felt completely secure from discovery, let alone attack.⁸

The expedition had discovered a spot used by the East Gulf Squadron to secure wood and water. For over a month, craft from the Union gunboat *King Fisher* had made irregular trips to the area which had been uninhabited for many years. Usually two or three small cutters containing armed seamen and a pilot carried out the assignment.⁹

Realizing that the Federals would soon return, Scott decided to launch a surprise attack. His men were up early on June 2. Captain Scott placed pickets half a mile down river to watch for the boats. At twelve noon they reported that three boats were approaching, and each soldier took his post, already designated by Scott, "so that he could be into it at a moment's warning."¹⁰

Scott knew that his position was precarious. His escape trail into the swamp was two miles above the Confederate position. If one of the boats succeeded in getting by, the Southerners would be cut off. With no way of knowing how many men the cutters carried, Scott realized that it was imperative to halt the first boat. The soldiers were instructed to wait until Scott fired his pistol and then release a volley.

Half a mile below the point of planned attack the river made a broad bend. A few days later Scott remembered that soon the first cutter "rounded the curve and came up beautifully her large sail hanging so low that it was impossible for me to tell how many men she had."¹¹ Earlier that morning the Union boats had left the *King Fisher*. The thirteen men and a pilot were under the command of Master and Acting Second Lieutenant Samuel Curtis. The trip promised to be routine, and the relaxed pilot hung back at the river's mouth in order to fish. The two other cutters moved upstream.¹²

8. Ibid.

9. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records Union And Confederate Navies*, 30 vols. (Washington, 1894-1922), Ser. I, XVII, 254-55 (hereinafter cited as *O.R.N.*).

10. "Scott's Report."

11. Ibid.

12. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, XVII, 255-56.

When the first vessel got within twenty feet of the concealed Scott, he rose, aimed, and the noise of his pistol was lost in the louder reports of almost simultaneous rifle fire. The Federals were taken by surprise, but instinctively dropped to the deck for cover. Next, the Confederates saw four muskets raised over the boat's edge. When two of the weapons opened fire, the Southerners replied with another fusillade. Scott ordered his men to cease firing, and at that the boat quickly surrendered. No Confederate had been hit.

Two Union men were wounded and two more were killed. It was ironical that the casualties were all foreigners. Wounded were Charles Milton, born in the Sandwich Islands but brought up by a Massachusetts shipowner and a veteran whaler of twenty years, and Charles Hood, an Englishman. A rifle ball broke Milton's wrist, and Hood was slightly wounded in the hip. Dead were a German, Anton Faulkner of Bremen, and Anton Euphrates, a native of "the Western Islands." Some unknown set of circumstances had brought the two seamen into the United States Navy and to their deaths in an isolated Florida wilderness.¹³

Losing no time, Scott detailed Sergeant A. C. Croom and three men to march the northern prisoners into the swamp, and he prepared to confront the remaining boats. By now the Confederates had moved further down the Aucilla, and when the next vessel came in sight, they observed eight men on board. When the unsuspecting crew steered the craft to within a few feet of him, Scott stepped to the river bank and demanded an immediate surrender. The Union seamen reacted by suddenly dropping down, but the force and weight of their move capsized the boat. Men, arms, and casks tangled together and emptied into the Aucilla's warm water. Lieutenant Curtis called out that he surrendered, but the other Federals began swimming for the opposite shore. Ordered to return or be shot, they reconsidered and gave themselves up.¹⁴

The tide was running out, and the Confederates watched as it carried casks, oars, seats, and various objects downstream. The pilot, alone in the third boat, encountered the evidence of disaster, and, perceiving the danger, escaped to the other shore.

13. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, June 10, 1862; *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, XVII, 257-58.

14. "Scott's Report."

Out of range of the Confederate fire, he lingered to observe developments.¹⁵

Withdrawal by the Confederates would be difficult under normal circumstances, and now there were eleven prisoners. Since the return was through miles of thick swamp along a broken trail, Scott ordered a pullout before dark. Without shovels that could be used to dig graves, the Confederates managed to cover the dead bodies, place them in one of the boats, and run it into a narrow creek. The other boat and the captured supplies were secured and hidden. Exhausted, the Confederates and their prisoners emerged from the swamp before nightfall. Scott arranged for Chancy to return later, bury the dead, and bring the boats to a place of safety.¹⁶

After the Confederates departed, the pilot moved his boat in to investigate. He was unable to find the first cutter, but managed to right the capsized boat, tie it to a tree, and he even rolled some casks up a hill. Seeing recent breastworks, he hurriedly returned to the *King Fisher* and reported what had happened to the commander, Acting Volunteer Lieutenant Joseph P. Couthouy. Somewhat incredulous, Lieutenant Couthouy sent Master's Mate Charles E. Sloan back with the third cutter to confirm the debacle. Based on the reports of the pilot and Sloan, Couthouy took action in the next few days to do what he could for his men.¹⁷

There was jubilation in Tallahassee. The *Florida Sentinel* boasted, "This expedition will teach the marauders on our coast the penalty of their lawless raids."¹⁸ The two wounded seamen were placed in a hospital at Tallahassee, and the other ten prisoners were lodged in the city jail. It seemed fitting to locals that the captured men had recently left graffiti on the walls of the St. Marks lighthouse. They had boldly scrawled their names to a statement denouncing the "damned rebels" as cowards who were afraid to fight.¹⁹

Shortly after the episode, Lieutenant Couthouy entered into a series of meetings and agreements with Confederate authorities.

15. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, XVII, 256.

16. "Scott's Report."

17. *O.R.N.*, Ser. I, XVII, 257-58.

18. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, June 10, 1862.

19. *Ibid.*

The Union forces were permitted to rebury the dead seamen and mark their graves by the Aucilla and to furnish the prisoners with clothes, provisions, and even some money. The negotiations between the two enemy forces were courteous, practical, and humane. Still later the prisoners were exchanged.²⁰

Scott and his men continued the struggle. They participated in other battles, including that of Natural Bridge on March 6, 1865, which turned a Union invasion away from St. Marks and Tallahassee.²¹ After the war Scott unsuccessfully attempted to resume his business and planting interests. Briefly entering politics, he ran as the Conservative candidate for governor in 1868 but was defeated by his Republican opponent, Harrison Reed.²² With little reason to stay in Florida, Scott moved to Atlanta, Georgia, where he became a successful businessman. He endowed a college that was later named Agnes Scott for his mother. Scott retired and died on October 3, 1903, at the age of seventy-four.²³

Scott was a man of ability and courage. Although not a professional soldier, he served the Confederacy well. The modest commander was not engaging in patriotic rhetoric when he described the performance of his men at the Aucilla River on June 2, 1862. The soldiers had proved, Scott wrote, "that they were men worthy to enjoy the liberty for which they are struggling."²⁴

20. *O.R.*, Ser. II, III, 648-50, 658-59, 899-90.

21. *Ibid.*, XXXV, Pt. II, 614; Edwin C. Bearss, "Federal Expedition Against Saint Marks Ends at Natural Bridge," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLV (April 1967), 369-90; Mark F. Boyd, "The Joint Operations of the Federal Army and Navy Near St. Marks, Florida, March 1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIX (October 1950), 96-124; William Miller, "The Battle of Natural Bridge," *Apalachee*, IV (1950-1956), 76-86.

22. Paisley, *From Cotton to Quail*, 20-22; Jerrell H. Shofner, *Nor Is It Over Yet: Florida in the Era of Reconstruction 1863-1867* (Gainesville, 1974), 190-92.

23. Lucas, "Civil War Career of Scott," 149.

24. "Scott's Report."

AN INTEGRATED FREE SCHOOL IN CIVIL WAR FLORIDA

by GERALD SCHWARTZ

DURING the Federal occupation of Jacksonville in February 1864, an attempt was made by Dr. Esther Hill Hawks, an abolitionist lady from New Hampshire, to operate there the state's first racially integrated free school.¹ This kind of an integrated facility, fleeting though it proved to be, was among the first in any southern state.

Esther Hawks was no stranger to teaching black pupils of all ages. She married Dr. John Milton Hawks in 1854, and they came to Manatee, Florida, on their honeymoon. There she clandestinely taught a school for black children despite the danger—should anyone have complained to the authorities—since such schools were illegal.²

By 1857, Esther Hawks had graduated from the New England Female Medical College in Boston and had begun the practice of medicine in Manchester, New Hampshire.³ When the Civil War broke out she was anxious to make a contribution, but was rejected for medical service by Dorothea L. Dix, superintendent of army nurses, by virtue of being too young, too pretty, and hence potentially disruptive.⁴

Gerald Schwartz is associate professor of history at Western Carolina University at Cullowhee, North Carolina.

1. School Record of Jacksonville, unpublished record contained in the second bound volume of the Milton and Esther Hawks Manuscripts, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
2. Mrs. Wm. Lummus, "Address," *Tributes of Respect and Love From Associates and Friends, Read at the Remembrance Service Held at the Friends' Meeting House on Silsbee Street, Lynn, Massachusetts, May 30, 1906, In Honor of the Late Dr. Esther H. Hawks* (Lynn, Mass., 1906), 26.
3. *Eighth Annual Report of the New-England Female Medical College* (Boston, 1857), 4.
4. Unpublished diaries of Dr. Esther Hill Hawks in possession of Mr. and Mrs. Eldon Porter, Long Beach, North Carolina. The author of this article has edited the Hawks diaries for publication by the University of South Carolina Press. Unless otherwise specified the contents of this article are derived from the Hawks diaries. Where the diaries are quoted verbatim no attempt has been made at correcting Esther Hawks's spelling, punctuation, or other errors.

Dr. Hawks eventually obtained an appointment from the New York Freedman's Aid Society as a teacher of freedmen on the Federally-occupied sea islands of South Carolina, arriving at Port Royal in October 1862. Her medical skills were employed when she unofficially commanded a hospital for the black troops of the Second South Carolina Infantry, holding surgeon's call "for hospital and Regt. and with great success." Later, in July 1863, Hawks treated wounded survivors of the all-black Fifty-fourth Massachusetts Infantry's assault upon Fort Wagner, guarding Charleston harbor. She performed other post-battle services in field hospitals elsewhere. But it was as an educator rather than as a healer that Esther Hawks expended the bulk of her time and energies. She was an enthusiastic teacher of both children and adults, including hundreds of black troops. And what optimism Esther Hawks displayed about the enthusiasm and abilities of her sea island pupils of all ages! Freed blacks, she recorded, "are all eager to go to school, books being the one thing denied them, they have a frantic desire to get possession of them."

It was just a few weeks after the Federals moved into Jacksonville that Dr. Hawks was authorized by the military and the Freedman's Aid Society officials to establish a public school. The provost marshal appropriated the fraternal meeting hall owned by the Odd Fellows at Market and Adams streets as a school building. Esther's husband, Dr. John Milton Hawks, surgeon of the Twenty-first United States Colored Troops, cleaned out the building and furnished it with seats.⁶ The Christian Commission contributed textbooks.⁶ So, too, did the Sanitary Commission, forerunner of the American Red Cross. The wife of Captain William Lee Arpthorp of the Thirty-fourth United States Colored Troops volunteered to assist with the teaching. And on Monday morning, February 29, 1864, the school bell clanged, summoning pupils of both races to their lessons.⁷

Initially there was but one black pupil out of a total enrollment of thirty, most of whom were poor whites. On the second day of classes, sixteen new black scholars enrolled. Some of these

5. Ellen M. Patrick, in *Tributes of Respect*, 12.

6. Esther H. Hawks, "Freedmen's School in Florida," *The Commonwealth*, III, September 9, 1864, 1, 2, reprinted in part from the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, XXV, August 20, 1864.

7. School Record.

were natives of Jacksonville, others were recently arrived refugees from plantations as much as eighty miles distant. At day's end, Dr. Hawks was informed by one of her white pupils, Mary Magdalena Lamee, that her mother had made it clear that she could not continue attending if black children were taught there. "O very well," Esther replied, "if your Ma rather you wouldn't learn you must stay away, but the school is free to all."⁸ The school record indicates that Dr. Hawks was saddened by this turn of events. "Said Mary is as ill looking a cub as there is in the lot—but not to blame for Ma's prejudices," she wrote. Actually, Esther Hawks had good reason to bemoan the loss of Mary. She and her brother Frank were apparently the only two pupils of either color advanced enough to read "readily." Some, including one white who was twenty-two years old, did not even know their letters.⁹

Racial tensions continued to increase among parents, despite cooperation and friendliness among pupils of both races.¹⁰ The white children, according to Esther, were, if anything, more poorly dressed and dirtier than the blacks, but there was "an evident disposition among white noses to turn up at colored ones."¹¹ Esther, despite a *New York Tribune* article which quoted her as saying that the races were pursuing studies "harmoniously," anticipated declining white attendance.¹² She was not mistaken; one parent violently withdrew her child who had come to school without permission, threatening to "break his bones."¹³ At the end of six weeks, only one white child remained, though the fifteen whites who had not been withdrawn immediately after integration had made "creditable improvement," in this, the first chance most of them ever had to enjoy schooling.¹⁴ Parental opposition among whites, according to Dr. Hawks, "was greatly augmented by many of our officers, who thought it was quite shocking to have white and black children sent to the same school, encouraging the idea that if kept from this, a free white school would soon be started for them. This has not been done, though the need of such a school is very great. The streets are

8. Ibid.

9. Ibid.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid.

12. *New York Tribune*, April 1, 1864, 1.

13. School Record.

14. Hawks, "Freedman's School".

full of white children, who out of school hours, are the friends and playmates of our pupils, and I confess that I dislike to have them exposed to such *demoralizing influences!* The white children come about the door looking wistfully in, but if I ask them to come in they invariably say, 'Ma won't let me come'." ¹⁵

By contrast, the enthusiasm of the black pupils "would inspire even the dullest of teachers," Dr. Hawks wrote. ¹⁶ The children were not only prompt and regular in attendance, but were quick to learn. "My first class," she noted, "I am trying to initiate into the mysteries of written Arithmetic, and they do *credit* to their *teacher* (!) I think they begin to have an idea of the *whys* of addition. They are delighted with the practice." Ultimately, a class of twenty-four scholars would be able to recite the multiplication table fluently. Some could perform written examples on the slate or blackboard through the first three rules in Adam's *Arithmetic*, and explain the rest intelligibly. Progress was also made in spelling, geography, and other subjects. "Do not forget that these are black children, lately held as property, and quite as unfamiliar with arithmetic and writing as their masters' other 'beasts of burden,' " explained Esther. ¹⁷

Nor was the Jacksonville school made up only of children. Fifty black soldiers from different regiments attended regularly. Other men, exempt from military duties and employed as laborers, cooks, and waiters, would hurry in and eagerly urge "please Miss, hear my lesson right soon, I must go in an hour." ¹⁸

Not infrequently there were friendly competitions between soldiers and young pupils. One evening Dr. Hawks "yielded to the entreaties of the children," and held a spelling bee. "Thirty of my best scholars, and several soldiers present. Let them 'choose sides' with which they were particularly delighted; then I let them 'spell down' and one of my boys, Sam Muncy and a soldier from the north, gave each other a 'hard try' after out-spelling all the others— then they both missed the same word— a word of four syllables." ¹⁹

Esther looked with "pride and pleasure," on the work done by her pupils and herself. "I have," she wrote, "a large, orderly

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Ibid.*

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

19. Hawks diaries, May 2, 1864.

and intelligent school; the scholars, . . . most of them have made excellent improvement. They are easily governed— and generally disposed to obey.”²⁰ Dr. Hawks, missing not a single day of teaching during the four months she operated the school, described her work as “a labor of love and of great interest . . . I feel amply rewarded,” she recorded in her diary, “for all my pains-taking in the good improvement of the children— and in feeling that I have so great an influence over such a wide circle of children’s hearts. I know they love me, because *I love them!*”²¹

There were others who also supported the young scholars in Jacksonville. The Reverend J. W. Lewis came down to organize an integrated Sunday school, also taught by Esther Hawks. Upon his return to Beaufort, South Carolina, he sent a wide selection of books which formed the nucleus of a library, which Dr. Hawks described as “a source of never-failing delight to the children.”²²

The approach of summer brought with it “so much sickness and lassitude as to make the suspension of the school necessary for a season,” Esther explained to readers of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*. “Examinations passed off quite satisfactorily,” Esther noted in her diary on June 29, 1865, “The school behaved admirably, said their lessons, sang their songs and recited their ‘pieces’ to the delight of everyone; Several officers were present and addressed the school. The house was well filled with the friends of the children. An orderly Sergt. from the 54. Mass. here in hospital made the *best* speech of the occasion— forcible and right to the point. I felt proud of him! The children looked bright and clean and some of them were beautifully dressed! Today has been the great day for them. I have long promised them a pic-nic— so great preparations have been on foot for it— and they have all enjoyed themselves till *tired*. The table of refreshments was abundant and looked as nice as any I ever saw. It was spread in the gallery and beautifully decorated with flowers. A soldier with his violin soon made his appearance and little feet and older ones too, danced till weary. Capt. Spaulding of the 7th U.S.C.T. came in and soon after I got a match started, he leading off with little Carrie Williams, I next with Julia and Charley Murry. The children were delighted! Then after another

20. *Ibid.*, May 31, 1864.

21. *Ibid.*, June 29, 1864.

22. Hawks, “Freedman’s School”.

dance three little children aged 5 years sang 'John Brown,' all joining in the chorus. After refreshments they played and danced till dark, a refreshing, shower having given us all new vigor. It has been one of the hottest days of the season."²³

"Amen!!!" It was thus that Esther Hawks closed out her school report. Running the school, as she had repeatedly made clear, had been a gratifying but frustrating experience. It was irritating in part because Dr. Hawks believed that she was "wasting time" that might have otherwise been devoted to her medical practice. It was frustrating also because, as Esther's friend Colonel James Beecher of the Thirty-fifth United States Colored Troops told her, "It has been a *thankless* work— no one knows or cares anything about it or appreciates the amount of labor or of good you have done here."²⁴ It was also disappointing to Esther that her aspirations for fostering racial integration were thwarted. Despite such considerations, Dr. Hawks concluded, "I feel an inward consciousness of duty faithfully performed and I know it is not all in vain."²⁵

The Jacksonville school started by Esther Hill Hawks reopened in the fall of 1864, though with a new teacher. A tuition-free school for white children was also opened supported by the nearby military post fund and by a special tax imposed on traders.

Dr. Hawks wrote in February 1865: "The greater portion of the whites belong to the lowest class or 'Crackers' and are miserably poor and degraded— ignorant and filthy it is seldom we find one who can read, and instead of appreciating the free school priveledge, many of them refuse to go, and in visting among them they offer all kinds of poor excuses for not going. The colored people are far ahead in thrift and industry— tho' many of them are about as dirty— but there is more life— animation— elasticity about them so more hope for their future."²⁶

Within months of making these observations, Esther Hawks took to bemoaning the "demoralization" of freedmen. So did others who had devoted themselves to the dream of uplifting the status of former slaves through education. Quickly the idea of integrated

23. Hawks diaries, June 29, 1864.

24. *Ibid.*, June 19, 1864.

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.*, February 5, 1864.

education yielded to the hope of adequate, albeit racially-segregated, education. By 1877 when radical reconstruction was terminated in Florida and elsewhere in the South, a lack of funding and public interest, along with a myriad of other factors had eroded even that hope. Public schools in Jacksonville would not be integrated— or more accurately reintegrated— until the academic year 1970-1971.

GERMAN TOURISTS IN FLORIDA: A TWO CENTURY RECORD

by EARL R. BECK

IN 1981, 74,219 West German tourists landed in the airport in Miami. This figure, which represents over a ten per cent increase over 1980, does not take account of many Germans who came to Florida after landing elsewhere in the United States.¹ Those thousands of Germans who visit Florida today are continuing the lively interest in this state which began more than two hundred years ago. But, strangely enough, the number of German accounts of Florida and its myriad lures has been quite small. Stranger still, while tourism has grown, German writing about Florida has declined, and some recent accounts have been sharply bitter and cynical.

From the first, Florida's warmth held a special lure for Germans, for theirs is a cold country; the climate is modified somewhat by the Gulf Stream, but winters are still severe and summers short. Through modern times Germans have been strongly drawn to lands of summer climes— Italy and the Riviera, Egypt, the South Seas, and Florida. Florida also held another enticement for German visitors. This was the unusual profusion and manifold variety of its flora and fauna, particularly as seen in the Everglades and other swamp areas of the state. Naturalists found in the dismal reaches of the cypress and mangrove swamps an opportunity to study geological and biological developments long past elsewhere. This was, wrote one of them, one of the few places in the world where one could see in process of formation the lignite coal which was so vital in Germany.² Plant and animal

Earl R. Beck is professor of history and former chairman of the history department at Florida State University. The author wishes to express his thanks to Edward Keuchel for his help and suggestions in respect to the background of Florida history.

1. Statistics from Elisabeth Finn of the Florida Bureau of Tourism Research. It was reported in 1980 that 67,000 German tourists landed at Miami International Airport.
2. Raoul Francé, *Lebender Braunkohlenwald. Eine Reise durch die heutige Urwelt* (Stuttgart, 1932).

life in Florida also presented the challenge of that which was unique and extraordinary.

In spite of these attractions Florida was not until quite recently so much visited as other parts of the country. It was not on the normal transcontinental line from east to west which Germans followed in their quest for the grand tour—“quer durch”—“straight across.” Those who visited Florida thought they were coming to a semi-frontier area, a newer portion of the country. The visit did not contribute too significantly to their interpretations of modern America. The very fact that they came—unless, as was true in some cases, the visit was essentially accidental—set them off, as more serious, less superficial students of the New World. In most cases they arrived with a purpose and a mission—to look for areas for potential German settlement, to see the land of the “boom,” or to visit an area which joined a primitive and a modern world.³ Many of their published accounts attracted a wide reading public.

Tourism in Florida did not begin until late in the nineteenth century. But several German visitors anticipated the lures which Florida would present for later visitors. As early as 1784, Johann David Schöpf, a German surgeon who had been in the service of the British army, visited St. Augustine just as it was being retroceded to Spanish control.⁴ Although the British had allowed some decline in the closing years of the American Revolution, Schöpf was impressed by the houses with little gardens surrounded by stately lemon and pomegranate trees. Religious structures were badly deteriorated; the place of a German church was marked by a single remaining wall, and the major Spanish church was showing signs of dilapidation. A Negro church held services in the hut of a black Baptist.⁵

The British had made efforts during their twenty-year occupation to improve the economy of St. Augustine and the surrounding area. Some 1,500 Minorcans and Greeks had been brought

3. Such an objective qualified the travel as a *studienreise*, a “study trip,” which raised the observer above the level of the casual visitor.

4. Johann David Schöpf, *Reise durch einige der mittlern and südlichen vereinigten nordamerikanischen Staaten nach Ost-Florida und den Bahama-Inseln unternommen in den Jahren 1783 und 1784*, 2 vols. (Erlangen, 1788). This work has been published in English; see Alfred J. Morrison, trans. and ed., *Travels in the Confederation [1783-1784]* (Philadelphia, 1911).

5. Schöpf, *Reise durch . . . Ost-Florida*, II, 359-62.

into New Smyrna by Dr. Andrew Turnbull, a Scottish physican, in 1768.⁶ The Minorcans, who constituted the largest number of the settlers, found conditions there unendurable, and by the time Schöpf was in Florida they had abandoned New Smyrna and were living in St. Augustine. Dr. Turnbull had already left Florida by the time Schöpf arrived, but they had met in Charleston. It was there that Schöpf heard about the difficulties and financial loss occasioned by the project.⁷

Schöpf described East Florida as backward; the only settlement besides St. Augustine which might qualify as a city, he said, was St. John (St. John's Bluff). The old Spanish city of St. Marc de Apalache had virtually disappeared.⁸ He noted that the reputation of Florida as having an unhealthful climate was not justified; St. Augustine had clear air and fresh winds which softened the summer heat.⁹

Almost half a century later another German, Traugott Bromme, wrote about Florida. A professional traveler, he came to Florida in 1832.¹⁰ Arriving by ship from St. Marys, he stopped first at Fernandina, then a "city" with eighty houses, 500 inhabitants, a church, and a Catholic chapel.¹¹ He proceeded to New Smyrna and then St. Augustine.¹² The beauty of the coast between New Smyrna and St. Augustine, the pelicans that showed themselves to the passing ship, and the shipwrecks along the coast, which would provide salvage bounty for future generations, were noted.¹³ Bromme described St. Augustine in detail, then a town with over 200 houses and a population of 2,489, including 610 slaves and 322 free colored. The gardens and lush surroundings of the area fascinated him, and he described in detail the plants and birds of the area.¹⁴

6. Ibid., 367-69.

7. Ibid., 359-69.

8. Ibid., 370. Bromme, who visited St. John in 1832, described it as a small, unimportant place of twenty-eight houses and 107 inhabitants.

9. Schöpf, *Reise durch . . . Ost-Florida*, II, 394.

10. Traugott Bromme, *Reisen durch die Vereinigten Staaten und Ober-Canada*, 3 vols. (Baltimore [actually printed in Dresden], 1834-35). The abbreviated version on Florida, *Reise durch die Floridas, von St. Augustine durch die Halbinsel nach Pensacola (Aus Bromme's Reisen besonders abgedruckt)* (Baltimore, 1837), does not include the first part of his travel in Florida relating to St. Augustine.

11. Bromme, *Reisen durch die Vereinigten Staaten*, II, 356-64.

12. Ibid., 365-66.

13. Ibid., 368-73.

14. Ibid., 375-80. Apparently Bromme had access to census figures for 1830,

Bromme traveled by small boat up the St. Johns River and through the back country.¹⁵ He visited sections of the Gulf coast and places in the interior of the state.¹⁶ Florida was very sparsely settled with fewer than 35,000 inhabitants, including 15,000 slaves.¹⁷ Settlement was heaviest in the north— Leon and Gadsden counties were the largest as compared to Escambia, Duval, or St. Johns.¹⁸ Tallahassee was a village when Bromme visited there, but the surrounding area was growing rapidly, occasioned by the raising of cotton, tobacco, indigo, silk, almonds, olives, figs, grapes, sweet oranges, and bananas.¹⁹

Bromme also visited Pensacola, which he described as unattractive, with its wooden houses and a poor Spanish population. The only solid and beautiful building was the market house.²⁰ Pensacola did have good soil on which sweet oranges and good grape vines grew, and the air was clean and healthy.²¹ In fact, Bromme proclaimed, all of Florida offered healthier air, fewer dangerous animals, and more normal seasons than those found in other more popular regions.²² Bromme hoped that with the end of the destructive war between the Indians and the American settlers, Florida would overcome the criticism leveled against it and achieve “the height of culture which its climate, soil, and products merit.”²³

In 1854 still another visitor reported in German on his Florida experiences. Heinrich Bosshard, formerly a teacher from Schwamendingen near Zurich in Switzerland, was convinced that high prices in Europe and the dismal prospects of the future there created pressures for emigration to the United States.²⁴ Thus,

although the figure he is citing here must be for the city alone. The city with its environs had 4,000 inhabitants and 844 free blacks by the census of 1830. See William W. Dewhurst, *The History of Saint Augustine, Florida* (New York, 1885; reprint ed., Rutland, Vt., 1968), 149.

15. This journey is detailed in volume III of Bromme's *Reisen durch die Vereinigten Staaten*, 1-17, and marks the beginning of the abbreviated version, *Reise durch die Floridas*.
16. Bromme, *Reisen durch die Vereinigten Staaten*, III, 17-41.
17. *Ibid.*, 71.
18. *Ibid.*, 75.
19. *Ibid.*, 76.
20. *Ibid.*, 77-78.
21. *Ibid.*
22. *Ibid.*, 38.
23. *Ibid.*, Vorwort.
24. Heinrich Bosshard, *Anschauungen und Erfahrungen in Nordamerika. Eine Monatsschrift*, 3 vols. (Zurich, 1853-1855), I, 580-672, deals with Florida. Although Swiss, Bosshard wrote in German and may fairly be

he sought to evaluate for his Swiss and German readers the advantages of America's different regions for settlement.²⁵

Bosshard's first stop in Florida was Apalachicola. In this period the Gulf coast was reached by sailing around Cuba; sailing vessels had too much difficulty bucking the Gulf Stream winds in the Florida Straits.²⁶ Bosshard's eighteen-day journey from New York was a favorable one; the captain of the vessel on which he sailed told him the trip often took twenty-eight to thirty days.²⁷

Apalachicola was a busy and prosperous town in 1854. Bosshard estimated that there were 5,000 inhabitants. It was a major cotton port; thousands of bales were shipped each year during the period from January through April. Sandbanks and rock reefs made it necessary for small steamboats to unload and load the larger schooners, which stood out an hour's distance from shore. There were no paved streets, Bosshard found, and boardwalks served to protect pedestrians from the sand and shells.²⁸ The citizens, he reported worked hard and earned well. One German had twenty-three slaves and was worth at least \$20,000, but he lived like a miser in a ten-by-ten hut. Bosshard wondered if he might be saving to help poor German friends back home.²⁹ Most homes had gardens which produced fresh vegetables all year long, a fringe benefit worth at least, Bosshard calculated, \$250 a year.³⁰

Normal farming, he learned, was not suitable for the area. The enormous task of clearing land was slowed by the hordes of mosquitoes and the tiny gnats, later called *noseeums*, which descended in droves on the hair, eyebrows, and lips. Potatoes were destroyed clear to the roots by "white, fuzzy worms."³¹

From Apalachicola Bosshard continued south to Key West, which he described as the healthiest place in the United States.

included with this group of writers carrying knowledge of Florida to the German reading public.

25. *Ibid.*, Vorwort.

26. Still true when Rudolf Meyer visited in 1881. Rudolf Hermann Meyer, *Ursachen der amerikanischen Concurrenz* (Berlin, 1883), 186. But Bosshard's vessel went past Key West, which he pictured as a location of wreckers who often came to offer help to ships stranded on reefs and then claimed salvage rights; Bosshard, *Anschaungen*, 600.

27. Bosshard, *Anschaungen*, 603.

28. *Ibid.*, 604-5.

29. *Ibid.*, 607.

30. *Ibid.*, 608.

31. *Ibid.*, 609-10.

Even tubercular patients, he was told, recovered their health there.³² The houses were built of light wood, churches and the barracks of the navy establishment were covered with shingles, and the only stone buildings were the prison and navy hospital. Bosshard described Key West as a place of recreation for wealthy Southerners who had built comfortable homes in which their wives lived pampered and bored lives attended by their Negro slaves.³³

The keys, Bosshard decided, would not be suitable for European farmers; there would be little profit from normal agriculture. Yet, as he summarized his Florida experiences, the state did offer opportunities. Bosshard estimated that there were fewer than 300,000 inhabitants living in Florida (actually there were less than 90,000 in 1850), and there would be ample room for newcomers. The turpentine forests provided opportunities for livelihood in addition to gathering Spanish moss to stuff mattresses, cattle raising, and the planting of rice, sugar, cotton, and tropical fruits.³⁴

Another quarter century passed before the appearance of the next travel account by a German writer, Rudolf Hermann Meyer, who shared Bosshard's interest in potential settlement in Florida. Meyer was imbued with the optimism of his predecessors; Florida would be for the United States what Italy was for Europe, a place which "in a few years will become America's garden." The draining of the swamps would add new areas to the healthful regions along the coast. He also believed that tubercular patients could find a healthful refuge in many parts of Florida.³⁵

Florida in 1879-1880 had assumed a more settled air since Bosshard's visit. There were good hotels in Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Palatka, Sanford, and Enterprise, and rail connections from Jacksonville to the North and the West.³⁶ Railroad lines ran from Jacksonville to Baldwin and from there to Cedar Key and Lake Orange, and there was service to Gainesville and Palatka and south to Charlotte Bay and Tampa Bay. If these lines were expanded— and Jay Gould was in Palatka exploring this possibil-

32. Ibid., 633.

33. Ibid., 652-54.

34. Ibid., 665-66.

35. Meyer, *Ursachen der amerikanischen Concurrenz*, 173-76.

36. Ibid., 177.

ity when Meyer visited that community— Florida products would be able to compete in western markets.³⁷

Meyer provided a summary of the economic potential of Florida. He charted the cost of establishing orange groves— twenty acres with seventy-five trees per acre at about \$900, and a five-room house could be built for \$2,000. There might be a waiting period of some five years, however, before the trees would begin to bear well and before profits could be made. This period might be used to raise food in one's own garden.³⁸ Growing long-grained cotton, wine culture, and the raising of cattle and swine also offered opportunities.³⁹ Meyer claimed that 4,000,000 acres were held by the federal and state governments, and he anticipated the possibility of obtaining land from the railroads.⁴⁰ And the settlers were coming— farmers from the Midwest, who retained their wheat farms for summer work and enjoyed the winter opportunities in Florida, along with ruined southern plantation owners, who hoped to recoup their fortunes in family-operated orange groves, and some foreigners, mostly English. There were numbers of wealthy Northerners, who built comfortable and attractive houses in Florida far from the wintry blizzards of the North.⁴¹

Meyer's account is the last of the travel narratives by German visitors who were mainly discoverers and analysts, rather than tourists and sightseers. Later Germans increasingly saw Florida not as an exotic land which might be available for European colonization, but as a tourist attraction, a place where foreigners might come for rest and relaxation. This was how Paul Lindau, a novelist and dramatist described as "the German Maupassant," wrote about the state.⁴² He visited the United States in 1890, and his two-volume travel account was published three years later.⁴³

Most of what he saw as he traveled from Washington repelled him— poverty, poor architecture, unpaved streets, and "ugly"

37. Ibid., 177-78.

38. Ibid., 182-84.

39. Ibid., 184-86.

40. Ibid., 183. Meyer was in Florida a year before the lands he referred to actually became available. Probably he was anticipating the early settlement of the legal problems involved.

41. Ibid., 180.

42. Carl Beck, "Um die Weihnachtszeit nach Florida," *Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift*, LIII (1906), 916.

43. Paul Lindau, *Altes und Neues aus der neuen Welt. Eine Reise durch die Vereinigten Staaten und Mexico*, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1893).



Der „Singing Tower“ mit dem Vogelheiligtum. Orig. v. R. H. Francé

“The ‘Singing Tower’ with the Bird Sanctuary”— from an original drawing by R. H. Francé taken from *Florida, das Land des Überflusses* by Annie Francé-Harrar (used with permission of the author).



Seminolenfrauen aus den Everglades.

Original von R. H. Francé

"Seminole women from the Everglades" – from an original drawing by R. H. Francé, taken from *Florida, das Land des Überflusses* by Annie Francé-Harrar (used with permission of the author).

blacks.⁴⁴ He traveled from Jacksonville to St. Augustine by rail. In St. Augustine Lindau compared the many hotels there with those in Germany. In his country hotels were places where one stayed to visit other attractions; in Florida the hotels themselves were the attraction. The Ponce de Leon, where he stayed, was surrounded with banana and orange trees, camellias, cactus, and moss-laden trees. On warm evenings the patios were scented with lilies. There were libraries for those who wished to read and nightly concerts and balls. The dining rooms served excellent meals, but Lindau thought the black waiters served poorly. There were more waiters than one usually found in a German establishment. A stay in one of Florida's luxury hotels offered women an opportunity to display wardrobes of infinite variety. People, said Lindau, came not so much because they wanted to be in Florida but to escape the winters in New York and Chicago. But even though Lindau wrote with some disdain, he admitted that Florida would be the ideal place for a honeymoon.⁴⁵

Enroute to New Orleans Lindau stopped briefly in Jacksonville, which he found even less attractive than St. Augustine. There were some broad avenues lit by dirty streetlights. Alligators, he noted, could be purchased—small ones for less than a dollar, a monster for several dollars. As he went by train westward, Lindau found nothing worth commenting on except the monotony and ugliness of the landscape.⁴⁶

Lindau's account attracted few German visitors to Florida. Not until 1906 did Germans have a new opportunity to read an enthusiastic account of the wonders of Florida. This time, the writer was a German doctor named Carl Beck.⁴⁷ Born in 1856 in Neckargmünd, Beck had completed his work in medicine in Jena before coming to New York in 1882. There he became an internationally renowned surgeon, publishing books on the subjects of surgical sepsis, fractures, the use of x-ray, and surgical diseases of the chest. He also found time to write several books on his travels in the United States and Latin America. In 1906 he published a light and chatty account entitled "To Florida— at Christmas-time," which appeared in one of Germany's leading medical journals, the *Münchener Medizinische Wochenschrift*.

44. Ibid., I, 73-74.

45. Ibid., 74-85.

46. Ibid., 85-91.

47. Beck, "Um die Weihnachtszeit nach Florida," 915-18, 978-81, 1025-27.

He left New York on a snowy afternoon late in 1905, and by "express train" arrived in Virginia by breakfast time the following morning. It was there that he first encountered segregated waiting rooms at the stations, which he regarded as one of the signs of the "deadly hatred" of the whites for the blacks in the South. Beck found some justification for this feeling in "the commission of beastly crimes" by the blacks, whom he described as "repulsively ugly."⁴⁸

He saw palmyra and palm trees, Spanish moss, and, as the train pulled into the Jacksonville station, the straw hats which all the natives seemed to wear. An hour and a half later he arrived at St. Augustine, and like Lindau, he admired the beauty of the Ponce de Leon hotel. The Ponce and the Alcazar, Flagler's other hotel across the street (apparently he was unaware of Flagler's third hotel, the Cordova) were adorned with a profusion of flowers and exotic plants. Within these gardens, Beck noted, the kingdom of Scheherezade or the balcony of Romeo and Juliet were not far away: "Here is the El Dorado of the honeymooners."⁴⁹

There was also the Alicia Hospital in St. Augustine, founded by Flagler, "whose heart, thank God, is as big as his capacious purse." Doctors in this area, according to Beck, had little work. In Titusville, south of St. Augustine, one doctor had so few responsibilities for perhaps as many as 1,000 inhabitants that he also served as notary and justice of the peace. Typhus, he reported, was no longer a problem, and he believed, incorrectly, that tuberculosis was virtually unknown in Florida.⁵⁰

Beck proceeded southward from St. Augustine complaining of the slow and expensive Florida East Coast Railroad, which he compared to the secondary trains in south Germany. He found also that the beer available in the south German railroad stations was replaced in Florida by oranges picked fresh from the tree.⁵¹

48. Ibid., 915. Later German visitors were much more sympathetic to blacks than Lindau and Beck. See Earl R. Beck, *Germany Rediscovered America* (Tallahassee, 1968), 76-87.

49. Beck, "Um die Weihnachtszeit," 916-17.

50. Ibid., 917. It was, of course, not unusual for southern doctors to assume the part-time legal services Beck mentioned. Although Beck's comment on the absence of tuberculosis was inaccurate, he was continuing a rather general assumption of German visitors that Florida was a place where tubercular patients recovered their health.

51. Ibid., 978.

The slowness of "the whortleberry train" was redeemed by the scenery along the way. Beck noted the attractions of Ormond Beach, then the scene of automobile races, and of Daytona, "recognized as the most beautiful of all the villages of the South."⁵² In the area room and board was available for \$5.00 a week. Among the less expensive areas he included New Smyrna, Coronado Beach, Lake Helen, Orange City, Oak Hill, and Titusville. All along the east coast the hunter could still find bear, deer, ducks, turkey, quail, and partridge.⁵³

In Palm Beach, the end of his journey, Beck found the ultimate paradise, the real "regions of the blessed."⁵⁴ Barred to autos, the island was connected to the mainland by bridges which could be traversed only by bicycles or on foot. Great hotels lined Lake Worth. The largest, the Hotel Royal Poinciana, was able, he estimated, to accommodate 1,500 guests (actually 1,200). "No hotel of the Old World," wrote Beck, "can compare itself" to the architectural luxury and comfort of the Royal Poinciana.⁵⁵ The dining room provided an enormous and varied menu. Beck saved his greatest literary talent for lengthy descriptions of the tropical flowers and plants which surrounded the gardens of the great hotels. Even the human "flowers," Beck noted, seemed to flourish in this environment as the good humor and happiness of the vacationers seemed to indicate.⁵⁶

Beck described jungle area near Palm Beach, an **alligator** farm, a citrus plantation, and the Indians who earned a living by posing for photographs with visitors. Beck was interested in how typhus had been eliminated in Florida, and the continued presence, although not a serious menace, of dengue. Again he found that doctors had little to deal with except the dispepsia and internal disturbances which accompanied advancing civilization.⁵⁷

Beck also visited Miami which, he said, had been populated nine years earlier by eleven fishermen. It was now a city of 5,000.⁵⁸ He also noted that Flagler had begun construction of the Key West extension of his railroad.⁵⁹

52. Ibid., 979.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid.

55. Ibid.

56. Ibid., 980.

57. Ibid., 1025-26.

58. Ibid., 1027.

59. Ibid.

The author of another sketch on Florida remained anonymous. This essay was published in *Prometheus*, one of Germany's major scientific journals, in 1908. At this time the Florida East Coast Railroad had been completed to "Kingston" Key, some fifty miles from Key West, and steamers were already using a provisional terminal station there to make the run to Havana. The writer sketched the enormous difficulties of the construction and estimated the cost to that point at \$10,000,000, "a gigantic outlay of capital."⁶⁰

Late in 1908 a German geography professor, Albrecht Penck (1858-1945), also visited the keys. He described the continuing construction of the railroad and spent several days on a houseboat at Knight's Key, where company officials and train personnel lived. On Christmas day he strolled around the beach and took a boat ride in the area: "A wonderful piece of earth is being made accessible here. Nature and man stand on the same level; the former in its luxuriousness and tropical beauty; the latter in their ability and powers of achievement."⁶¹

The sparseness of travel accounts prior to World War I emphasizes the absence of any intense German interest in Florida. But the war and America's role in the defeat of Germany kindled interest in the United States. During the 1920s there was an increase in the number of Germans traveling in the United States and of the publication of accounts of their experiences and impressions. Florida shared in this travel literature, although the state lay outside the main routes of most foreign visitors.⁶²

Some came and wrote about Florida because of their scientific interests. Raoul Francé studied Florida's swamps to determine the process by which lignite, so vital to Germany, was formed.⁶³ Othenio Abel, a professor of paleobiology at the University of Vienna, also studied the mangrove swamps.⁶⁴ Others came in the

60. "O.B." [Anonymous], "Von der Key-West-Eisenbahn," *Prometheus*, XX, No. 970 (1908), 538-40. The author's use of "Kingston" Key does not conform to present map designations. From the context of his article, it would appear that he was referring to Spanish Harbor on the West Summerland Keys, which was apparently used as a temporary end of the railroad.

61. *U-S Amerika. Gedanken und Erinnerungen eines Austausch-professors* (Stuttgart, 1917), 12-15.

62. See for general account, Beck, *Germany Rediscovered America*.

63. Francé, *Lebender Braunkohlenwald*, 42.

64. Othenio Abel, *Amerikafahrt. Bindrücke, Beobachtungen und Studien*

German tradition of “bumming” voyages around the world. Thus Manfred Hausmann’s popular adventure account portrayed his railroad journey to the keys and his adventures as he hitch-hiked through Miami, West Palm Beach, the Dude Ranch, and Jacksonville. He used the term “paradise” for Florida, but poked fun at the provincialism of the guide in Jacksonville who said the St. Johns River was the only waterway in the world which flowed north.⁶⁵

A major attraction of Florida was its role in the twentieth century growth and changes occurring everywhere in the United States before and after World War I. It exemplified American enterprise which awakened both admiration and envy among many foreigners. Among the Germans who traveled in Florida and commented on the people and the environment was Felix Baumann, who in an edition of his expose of prostitution and bordello life in the United States, included Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Tampa as cities of “‘depravity.”⁶⁶ Carl Kircheiss, a sea captain, could not make up his mind whether Miami was a “sin babel” or an “artificial paradise.”⁶⁷ And Heinrich Hauser, a German doctor who came to the United States in the 1930s and remained until World War II, thought the state an enlarged version of Wannsee and Luna Park, two famous German amusement centers.⁶⁸

Admiration, however, was the predominant motif in the most widely read accounts. Dietrich Bruno, professor of economic geography at the University for World Commerce in Vienna, described Florida during the time of the great real estate boom of the 1920s. His optimism in respect to the future of the state was unbounded.⁶⁹ Josef Ponten, poet, novelist, and world traveler, came to Florida after the collapse of the boom. He reveled in the warmth of the area that he was visiting as he read news of foot-

eines Naturforschers auf einer Reise nach Nordamerika und Westindien (Jena, 1926), 56-96, 162-83.

65. Manfred Hausmann, *Kleine Liebe zu Amerika. Ein junger Mann schlendert durch die Staaten* (Berlin, 1931), 144-247.

66. Felix Baumann, *Aus dunklen Häusern Amerikas. Chicago, die Stadt der Verworfenen. Sittengeschichte aus den Vereinigten Staaten*, Second Edition (Stuttgart, 1922), 68-69.

67. Carl Kircheiss, *Meine Weltumsegelung mit dem Fischkutter Hamburg* (Leipzig, 1942 [originally published in 1928]), 209-12.

68. Heinrich Hauser, *Feldwege nach Chicago* (Berlin, 1931), 17-18.

69. Dietrich Bruno, *U.S.A., das heutige Gesicht* (Breslau, 1925), 127-33.

deep snow along the Riviera and of frozen canals in Venice. Ponten declared that Florida's climate was as valuable to the state as gold had been for Alaska. His description of Miami's expansion was rhapsodic, and in spite of the decline after 1926, he regarded the future of the area with great optimism: "The magic city"—the courage to use such a description is a part of the excessive, somewhat childish and even cheap American optimism. And still, in spite of all the deception of speculation and bombast, the optimists are right; there is sound thought in the idea that one day this whole land will be the winter garden of the industrial and commercial North; for the natural wealth of the land will continue to rise, the welfare of the people will develop fabulously, and even the worker will take his winter vacation in the South."⁷⁰

It was also in this period that perhaps the most significant study of Florida by a German was published. It even exceeded the enthusiasm of Ponten's book. Its author, Annie Francé-Harrar, was the wife of Raoul Francé, biologist. She was also a biologist, but her literary endeavors were more varied than her husband's. She published novels, travel accounts, books on the world of animals, as well as the volume on Florida. She might have labeled it "Fairyland Florida" rather than *Florida, the Land of Excess*.⁷¹

Some 70,000 copies of her book were sold in Europe, and the book became an unpaid-for advertisement for the state: "But I have more, at heart in writing this book than to present a more or less clear and vivid description. I am convinced that in the management, development, and cultivation of Florida a path has been taken which is almost exemplary for the growth of an area from its purely colonial economy. Here is an example that, at least here in Europe, cannot be too closely scrutinized, an example that proves that the backwardness and narrowness of a peasantry rooted in milleniums of tradition is not needed to make a land abundantly fruitful, free, and rich. Here methods are shown by which, with the help of scientific farming, miraculous harvests are achieved, and it is possible for primeval forests,

70. Josef Ponten, "Aus den Vereinigten Staaten," *Kölnische Zeitung*, August 11, 18, 1929.

71. Annie Francé-Harrar, *Florida, das Land des Überflusses* (Berlin-Schöneberg, 1931).

Indian nomads, and the highest technical development to exist side by side. And all this is done without destroying, devastating, and impoverishing *nature*.⁷²

Mrs. Francé-Harrar developed Goethe's theme of the oldness and effeteness of Europe with all of the land used and reused until little was left of the original. In America, she said, "there is so much unending space that developments there had to take a tempo different than is the case with us, much quicker and much shorter. There is no reason for surprise, therefore, that a genuine fairyland [Florida] was allowed over there to sleep like the unawakened Sleeping Beauty almost into the twentieth century, and that it was only a single generation ago that it awakened to an independent existence and a growing realization of its own worth."⁷³

Francé-Harrar's book combined lengthy and artistic descriptions of the manifold beauties of Florida with analyses of its rapid economic growth. Florida involved, she calculated, 35,000,000 acres, somewhat less than a third of the size of Germany (in 1931). There were 30,000 lakes in Florida, and an area, approximately twenty to twenty-five per cent, in a natural and undeveloped state. "There are," she noted, "only a few places like this on the entire globe."⁷⁴ She followed the saga of Florida's development in detail— from the sponge fishing at Tarpon Springs to the drainage of 900,000 acres of flooded land with an increase in its value by at least sixty times. The transformation of the swamps into "plantations" for raising vegetables or sugar cane gave many Americans more land and wealth than the manor owners in Germany. Okeechobee, calling itself "the Chicago of the South," had doubled its population of 5,000 in the period of 1925-1930. And Mrs. Francé-Harrar had no doubt that one day its roads would pass between skyscrapers and carry "world traffic."⁷⁵

Florida's phosphate provided another source of wealth; it was supplying half of the world's production. The agricultural production was calculated to have an annual value of \$109.76 per acre in Florida as compared to \$12.22 for Iowa, \$12.48 for Illinois, and \$13.36 for Ohio. On the average, the author calculated, an acre of strawberries in Florida brought \$302, cucumbers \$305,

72. *Ibid.*, 7-8.

73. *Ibid.*, 12-15.

74. *Ibid.*, 21.

75. *Ibid.*, 35-36, 49-55.

lettuce \$533, and cabbage \$262. Oranges, of course, were a major business, with 30,000,000 trees producing an average of fifteen boxes each.⁷⁶

But the greatest source of wealth was tourism, and the German visitor described the attractions of Orlando, Bok's "Singing Tower" at Lake Wales, and the super-advertised Silver Springs. After crossing the keys to Key West, then involving both railroad and auto routes, Francé-Harrar traveled from Miami to St. Augustine. She visited turpentine forests which, she estimated, were producing a yearly output worth \$20,000,000.⁷⁷

All of this the author summed up in a segment on "the great Florida boom." "The word 'Florida' rose like a flame," she related. People who sold a small piece of property for \$3,000 later repurchased it for \$6,000, and then resold it for \$12,000. A doctor's wife who inherited from her father a small estate on the Gulf of Mexico, which he had purchased for \$400, sold the land for \$600,000. "Every foot of earth was literally worth its weight in gold. Europe offers no example which could be drawn in comparison." She also related the saga of the creation of Miami Beach by a business entrepreneur at a hundredfold profit.⁷⁸

By 1923, she related, the boom had spread to Tampa where a "Mr. [D. P.] Davis" created a new island and in thirty hours sold its land for \$3,000,000. Within eight months winter villas, tennis courts, and hotels decorated Davis Island, and a year after its opening the last 1,000 acres were sold for \$20,000,000. But by 1926 the boom had collapsed and when Mrs. Francé-Harrar visited Florida in 1930, estates were being sold at sacrifice prices. With the onset of the depression caution became increasingly the motif.⁷⁹

But tourism remained in Florida. "The established price for one person at the Biltmore Hotel," she related, "is 75 dollars per day." This hardly compared with the price of a good hotel in Berlin at seven to eight dollars per day for room and board. The Florida establishment included a swimming pool, golf course, a radio in each room, an auto with chauffeur, and the use of motor yachts and glass-bottomed boats. People of more modest means

76. *Ibid.*, 56-64, 180-86.

77. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

78. *Ibid.*, 144-52. Mrs. Francé-Harrar speaks of a "Mr. Henderson" in this respect, but clearly means Carl G. Fisher.

79. *Ibid.*, 152-54.

could find board and lodging, according to the writer, at smaller hotels for four dollars a day. Even cheaper lodging was available in boarding houses where seven dollar a week could provide a person with a decent room and reasonable prices for meals. Some restaurants provided a five-course meal for a dollar and lunches in a drugstore or cafeteria were even less expensive. According to Mrs. Francé-Harrar, for \$100 or \$150 a month one could live comfortably even in Florida's luxury spas. If Miami were too expensive, there was Titusville, New Smyrna, Charlotte Harbor, or the keys. "Florida for everyone, for every purse, every need, every winter-shy, sun-seeking soul!" And in the end Mrs. Francé-Harrar provided her own invitation to her fellow countrymen, "Come and see Florida."⁸⁰

By 1933, two years after the publication of Mrs. Francé-Harrar's book, Adolf Hitler had come to power in Germany. It was, perhaps, unavoidable therefore that the next Florida travel book should have been written by a Nazi, Ralph Colin Ross.⁸¹ His father, Colin Ross, was a famous world traveler, who was in the United States on a lecture tour in behalf of the new regime. The visit to Florida was a vacation journey with no political purpose. They discovered that Florida was "the land without speed limits," as they drove rapidly to Miami. Here they had hoped to find a better hotel than those which they normally patronized, but prices made this impossible. They found cheaper hotels unsatisfactory (they did not even have a library), and they did not like the meals in a restaurant advertising "beef steaks" which resembled hamburgers they had eaten on the road. The family finally wound up in a trailer park "trying out" one of the trailers offered for sale. This was followed by a trip into the Everglades to see the Seminoles, but neither the visit itself nor young Ross's description of it were exceptional. Colin Ross in the foreword suggested that his son's travel book bore a special relationship to the future of Nazi youth— it was a part of the planning involved in their slogan, "tomorrow, the whole world."⁸²

The visit of the Rosses ended in 1940, and then World War II brought a pause in casual visitors from Germany. The end of hostilities in 1945 brought in a new flood of foreign visitors to

80. Ibid., 168-69, 228-34.

81. Ralph Colin Ross, *Von Chicago nach Chungking: einem jungen Deutschen erschliesst sich die Welt* (Berlin, 1941), 73.

82. Ibid., 74-87, 9-10.

the United States. But as was true in the past Florida still lay off the beaten track for most tourists.

Herbert Weichmann, a Prussian minister of state before coming to the United States in 1942, did not himself visit Florida, but he reported that the vacation concept was now a part of everyday life and that business propaganda demanded that one should either be in Florida or have been there.⁸³ Peter von Zahn came with his family to America under the sponsorship of Northwest German Radio. While in icy cold Washington, he thought of Florida with longing and of awakening in the morning with the warmth and palm trees outside the window. Like Caesar's Gaul, he found that Florida was divided into three parts—swamps, sand, and beaches. The swamps and the Seminoles received the usual German attention. The sand and the sun brought wealth—Floridians could rob the fruit trees and the pockets of tourists. But the Gulf coast, reported Zahn, was "the world's greatest health belt." The Florida of 1953, he said, was the blood and the fruit of the American social security system. It was the scene of trailers and pensioners, of the vulgar and the attractive.⁸⁴

The "bumming trips" had not completely disappeared. Rudolf Jacobs came to the United States with only four dollars in his pocket, and worked on a coastal steamer which stopped in Tampa. With a friend who was employed in Silver Springs, he traveled through the tourist areas to the Everglades and made an arduous journey through the swamps only to find that his romantic views of the Seminoles were not duplicated by reality.⁸⁵

The fullest postwar accounts of Florida came from the pen of a much less sympathetic visitor than Mrs. Francé-Harrar. First, in an article in the widely-read *Westermanns Monatshefte*, and then in his mammoth book, *Der grosse Traum Amerika. Sieben Reise in die USA, 1926 bis 1965* [*The great dream, America. Seven Trips in the U.S.A., 1926-1965*] (Hamburg, 1965) A. E. Johann Wollschläger found some 3,000,000 readers for his acid comments.⁸⁶ As Mrs. Francé-Harrar would say, he had examined his fairyland

83. Herbert Weichmann, *Alltag in USA* (Hamburg, 1949), 137-38.

84. Peter von Zahn, *Fremde Freunde; Bericht aus der neuen Welt* (Hamburg, 1953), 88-93.

85. Rudolf Jacobs, *Mit a Dollar nach USA* (Stuttgart, 1947), 58-89.

86. A. E. Johann Wollschläger, "Gartenstädte zwischen Sümpfe," *Westermann Monatshefte*, CII (August 1961), 17-30; *Der grosse Traum Amerika. Sieben Reisen in die USA, 1926 bis 1965* (Hamburg, 1965), 397-415, dealing with Florida.

too closely. Yet in both Wollschläger publications the gorgeously colored photographs of Florida scenes tended to counteract his criticisms.

Wollschläger's views of Florida were often contradictory. He detested the monotonous scenery of much of north Florida, but he found Tallahassee beautiful.⁸⁷ He hated the propaganda and greediness for money in south Florida, the varied "attractions" which accompanied the quest for tourist dollars, the near nudity on the beaches, and the pornographic night spots which surrounded them. He noted the possibilities of places in Florida where one could live less expensively than on Miami Beach, and he saw the obvious attraction of the state for pensioners. He objected to some of their housing, describing it as "ghettos for the old people."⁸⁸ He had no criticism of his trip to Key West.

More recent German accounts give Florida only modest attention. Two photographs in Walter Weiss's illustrated book on the United States are devoted to Florida along with a few paragraphs or passing references to the Gold coast, fishing, and the phosphate industry.⁸⁹ A popular guidebook, published in 1979, notes many of the state's tourist attractions.⁹⁰ A well-known German poet provided the photographs for one of the most colorful recent books on Florida, but although the book was published in Germany, the commentary is in English and no German language edition was published.⁹¹ Clearly the romance of Florida

87. Wollschläger, *Der grosse Traum Amerika*, 409. But a photograph in the book showed the poor housing of the blacks immediately surrounding the government buildings.

88. *Ibid.*, 419.

89. Walter Weiss, *Amerika. Die Vereinigten Staaten* (München, 1977), pictures on pages 32, 100; brief comments on pages 7, 18-20, 23, 32, 146, 153, 166, 176.

90. Wilhelm Voss-Gerling, *Der grosse Polyglott, USA* (München, 1979), contains historical references and sketches of Florida trips, 265-72.

91. Heinz Erhardt, *Florida, a Place in the Sun* (Offenburg, 1974). An earlier photographic book on Florida was published by Hans Walter Hannau, *Florida, a Photographic Journey* (New York, 1948). As the title indicates, the author let the pictures speak for themselves and provides almost no commentary. The author published a second Florida volume in 1963. Hans Walter Hannau, *Florida* (Munich, 1963). It was published in Germany but was distributed by Doubleday & Company in New York. It provided a brief but summary accounting, in English of "a land of endless pleasure in the sun—a phenomenon of the tension-packed age created by and for the millions of people seeking rest and relaxation, carefree days and nights in naturally beautiful surroundings." Apparently there was no German version of either of these books and neither entered directly into the German book market. There is also a recent article on

has faded, and German tourists no longer come with the sense of discovery which motivated the earlier travel books. In a shrinking world which Germans explore with the advantage of favorable exchange rates and domestic prosperity, Florida is only another area of attraction along with Italy, the Costa del Sol in Spain, and the islands of the Mediterranean. Tourism has expanded, but travel accounts are no longer marketable publications.

Florida tourism by P. Michael Pötke, "Tourismus in Florida" *Zeitschrift für Wirtschafts geographie*, Jrg. 17 (1973), Heft 7, 208-13, which deals with this subject from statistics supplied from Florida, but does not seek to separate the German portion of tourism from the overall picture.

BOOK REVIEWS

The King's Coffer, Proprietors of the Spanish Florida Treasury, 1565-1702. By Amy Bushnell. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981. ix, 198 pp. Preface, appendices, glossary, notes, bibliography, index. \$20.00.)

Recent monographs by Paul Hoffman and Eugene Lyon have greatly expanded our knowledge and appreciation of Hapsburg administration and imperial finance in Spanish Florida. This volume by Amy Bushnell will make an excellent companion to these studies. Bushnell examines the political and financial elite of the colony during the Hapsburg period and demonstrates how this *hidalgo* class dominated the royal treasury. She concludes that ultimately the success of this group, who saw themselves as *floridianos* rather than Spaniards, insured their own economic preservation and that of the colony through control of the treasury at St. Augustine. The province remained economically operational because of their efforts, although self-interest was their primary motivation. Not surprisingly, the Menéndez Marquez clan, descendent from the *adelantado*, served as the nucleus of this group, with many of its familial connections serving key roles in the Florida treasury throughout the Hapsburg era.

This volume is more, however, than the history of a social elite involved in treasury matters for their own economic and social betterment. It is a commentary on treasury organization and operation as practiced by Hapsburg colonial administrators. Its perspective is solidly imperial, viewing Florida from the standpoint of Spanish colonial policy and its execution on the local level. Although Florida was unique in some matters, including certain treasury practices, the author's analysis of the royal treasury may be safely used as a reliable case study, especially since no similar examination has been made of other Hapsburg colonial treasuries elsewhere in the Indies. This alone makes the volume a timely resource for a wide and varied readership interested in Latin American colonial history.

The King's Coffer does more than chronicle the activities of a Florida elite in dominating the royal treasury. The narrative

delicately weaves together this story with a general analysis of how a royal colonial treasury functioned. For example, an early chapter notes the expenses of maintaining one's self as a member of the privileged class in the province. This discussion, covering the demands of charity, the costs of high fashion, consumption of goods and services, housing styles, and similar considerations, provides insight into the motivations of the royal treasury officials. Office in the treasury became a way to maintain social and class position. In the telling of this story for Hapsburg Florida, Bushnell leads the reader through a detailed explanation of the structure and functioning of the treasury as an institution of colonial governance. She provides an overview of the sale of proprietary office, with special emphasis on the titles and obligations of treasury officials. Important as well is her detailed analysis of the duties and obligations of treasury officials, complete with an accounting of their salaries and specific job duties in the treasury. The fortunes of Florida, as a colony dependent on an annual monetary subsidy from the crown, naturally made the king's treasury an important institution in the province. This cash supplement, or *situado*, was coupled by colonial administrators to revenues collected locally in order to provide the financial base for the Florida government. Bushnell provides a discussion of *situado* administration and a catalog of the various taxes which generated local revenues, thereby making the study a valuable resource for those interested in Hapsburg treasury practices.

The author's careful research in the records of Spanish Florida is perhaps the strongest asset of this volume, which is an enlargement of her dissertation. Her research is also a tribute to the significant wealth of documents now available in transcription and microform at Florida repositories, particularly the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, since these served as the study's primary source base. The use of these records to comment on social practices and the concerns of imperial finance has been imaginative. For example, from random documentation, Bushnell has compiled a list of treasury officials and their dates of service which will serve as a valuable reference tool. Placing Florida within the context of imperial administrative concerns, and then contrasting this perspective with the development of a local elite which sometimes operated

in opposition to stated policy in the Indies, is a useful analytical approach which highlights the uniqueness of Spanish Florida while denoting the role it played in the Hapsburg colonial system. This book will certainly be received as a welcome addition to the growing literature of solid and competent scholarship dealing with Spanish Florida in the Hapsburg era.

Austin College

LIGHT TOWNSEND CUMMINS

Vicente Folch, Governor in Spanish Florida, 1787-1811. By David Hart White. (Washington: University Press of America, 1981. 111 pp. Introduction, footnotes. \$17.25; \$7.50 paper.)

David White's is a brief account of the West Florida career of a minor Spanish military administrator. From 1787 until 1796, Juan Vicente Folch commanded, respectively, the post of Mobile, a surveying expedition, two coastal galleys, and a fort at present Memphis, Tennessee. Half the book treats Folch's activities as commander of Pensacola beginning in 1796. In 1804 he received the long desired office of governor of West Florida. Thereafter, the Burr conspiracy and revolts at Baton Rouge heightened the Spanish perception that both Floridas ultimately were indefensible. In this context, Folch made a clouded exit in 1811. Disappointed that he had not been reassigned to Spain, and threatened by American filibusterers, the governor proposed surrendering Mobile to the United States Army to prevent its capture by filibusterers. After receiving reinforcements and a reprimand, he maintained that his offer had been a trick. Folch's defeatist attitude at least secured his deliverance from West Florida, which he had never liked, for he was ordered home to a court martial. He was cleared of the treason charge.

The author is a good storyteller, and his straightforward, engaging style is rarely marred by irrelevant filler or folksiness. To the extent that it entered his correspondence, Folch's personal life is treated. The reader learns, for example, that as commander of Mobile the cuckolded Folch had his wife arrested after hearing (with witnesses, of course) two persons breathing beneath her mosquito net. He asked his uncle and patron, Estevan Miro, to have the offending French officer transferred. Later one sees

Folch sleeping on oars during the two months exploration of Tampa Bay, "with the rudder for a headboard," in order to prevent his men, fearful of Indians, from absconding at night.

Good Indian relations was a priority. Folch acquiesced in the policy of supporting the trading monopoly of Pantón, Leslie and Company (later the Forbes Company), knowing that the British firm could best keep the Indians satisfied. An irony of this relationship was apparent in 1806 while Spain and Britain were at war. It was with difficulty that Folch restrained a Spanish ship captain from attacking a British vessel which was in Pensacola harbor routinely unloading trade goods for Forbes Company.

White makes some observations about the society of West Florida and facilitates others. He notes a marked preference among blacks for Indian owners, observing that "no white man would knowingly buy a Negro who had been the slave of an Indian, feeling sure he would run away immediately" (p. 73). Similarly he records Folch's policy of not admitting blacks from the French West Indies during the upheavals of the French Revolution, for fear of the revolutionary contagion. The importance of social status among the Spanish military community is indicated by the story of a lieutenant who refused to marry the mother of his child on the grounds that her father, also a lieutenant, previously had been an enlisted man. Likewise, a sergeant was denied a promotion because his wife was socially unacceptable to the wives of other commissioned officers, being the sister-in-law of a shoemaker. Folch frequently complained of the poor morale of the men, for which White blames their isolation and "wretched living conditions." Folch had a different explanation: almost one-half of the soldiers in the Pensacola battalion were natives of Mexico or Cuba, and Folch had the peninsular's textbook disdain for the creole.

White's use of Spanish archival material is valuable, but his perception and inquiry rarely go beyond Folch's correspondence. As a result, while the reader learns of Folch's energy, diligence, and hard work, as well as his testy pride and arrogance, there is no attempt to compare him with others of his time and place and thereby assess his impact on them. Folch's Catalan background is mentioned only casually. In view of Spanish ethnic tensions, particularly between Catalans and Castilians, one wonders whether there was any ethnic or cultural component to Folch's

failure to get along with his colleagues and superiors. This failure, a theme of the book, is explained simply by Folch's "irascibility."

There is neither an index nor a map. These and other editorial short-comings no doubt were occasioned by the posthumous nature of the work's publication. They are far outweighed by its contributions.

Elon College

CAROLE WATTERSON TROXLER

Florida's "French" Revolution, 1793-1795. By Charles E. Bennett. (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1981. x, 218 pp. Maps, acknowledgements, appendix, selected bibliography, index, illustrations. \$16.00.)

This study concerns the abortive French-inspired invasion of and rebellion in Spanish East Florida during the years 1793 to 1795. When Citizen Edmond Genêt arrived in Charleston in April 1793, France and Spain were at war. Genêt intended to organize a force of United States volunteers who, with French aid, would invade the Spanish Floridas. Genêt's timing was good. Discontent in East Florida had reached near-epidemic proportions. Such unrest had been created in part by Spanish commerical policies which prevented competitive free enterprise and enabled one firm, Pantón, Leslie and Company, to enjoy a virtual monopoly of the colony's trade. Although Spain endeavored to alleviate the problem through a more liberal trade policy, the new commercial regulations did little to ease tensions.

A number of Americans who had left the United States and had taken an oath of loyalty to Spain were resident in East Florida in the 1790s. Most of them had obtained land grants and either farmed, ranched, or were engaged in commerce. Some of these new citizens served the Spaniards as alcaldes, militia officers, or in some other official capacity. A few of them, including Abner Hammond, William Jones, Richard Lang, John McIntosh, William Plowden, and John Peter Wagnon, chaffed at the lack of commercial and political freedom in the Floridas. They were ready to assist in the so-called "French" revolution in the Floridas. But Genêt's recall and the end of the French conspiracy did not

bring peace to East Florida. The ringleaders continued to plot the overthrow of Spanish authority.

Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada learned of their plans and ordered their arrest. All but McIntosh and Wagnon were confined in the Castillo de San Marcos. Those two were sent to Havana and were there imprisoned in El Morro. After a few months, Quesada released the St. Augustine prisoners, but McIntosh and Wagnon remained in custody for nearly a year. After their release, aided and abetted by General Elijah Clark, the conspirators captured Fort Juana, Fort San Nicolás, and the royal gunboat *San Simeon*. The Spaniards soon recaptured the posts and forced the rebels to flee.

The Spaniards tried sixty-eight of the men involved in the insurrection, thirty-five in absentia. Some of them were imprisoned, and most had their property confiscated. Some sentences were dramatic. McIntosh and Lang, among others, were sentenced to be dragged by the tail of a horse to the St. Augustine plaza, there hanged, their bodies quartered, and their heads and arms displayed near Fort San Nicolás and elsewhere as a warning to others. Apparently none of the rebels ever suffered such fates.

Congressman Charles E. Bennett of Jacksonville wrote the introduction and summaries, and translated and edited the documents. The format of this volume follows generally that of Mr. Bennett's earlier studies about the French in Florida in the 1560s. He has provided a general introduction followed by brief introductory summaries at the beginning of each chapter of translated documents. Several maps, drawings, and portraits are included.

The documents are from the *Archivo General de Indias, Sevilla, Papeles de Cuba, legajo 166, pormenor* (subsection or *expediente*) 16. They contain the criminal proceedings against John McIntosh and his accomplices. Copies of these records (microfilm and/or typescript) are in the Library of Congress and in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. This is only one of forty-six *expedientes* in this *legajo*. Several others are of particular interest because they are the records of the courts-martial of the officers who surrendered Fort San Marcos de Apalachee to William Augustus Bowles in 1800.

The history of the East Florida rebellion has been told in greater or lesser detail by other historians, but this is the first time

that the documents have been translated and published. Thus, while generally the story is familiar, many of the details contained in the documents are new. Panton, Leslie and Company was one of the objects of the rebels' wrath, but it is almost embarrassing to admit that this was the first time we had seen a copy of John Leslie's interrogatory (pp. 128-29). The combination of the translated documents and the narrative provides both scholar and layman with a different and new approach to this important episode in the history of the Spanish Floridas.

University of West Florida

WILLIAM S. COKER

The Billy Bowlegs War, 1855-1858: The Final Stand of the Seminoles Against the Whites. By James W. Covington. (Chuluota, Florida: The Mickler House Publishers, 1982. 82 pp. Preface, foreword, maps, illustrations, index. \$9.95.)

Dr. Covington's book at long last fills a conspicuous gap in Florida history. Before its publication no single reference existed covering events from the end of the Second Seminole War in 1842 to the conclusion of the Third War sixteen years later, May 8, 1858. The author has efficiently supplied an important missing segment of the state's history and of the history of Indian-white relations. The publishers deserve praise for recognizing the need and getting the missing piece into print..

Among the 450 Indians left in Florida in the late 1840s, there were a few renegades whose atrocities intensified the perennial dislike of the peninsular white people for their red neighbors. Senator Stephen R. Mallory stated the widely-held viewpoint: "Florida considers [the Indian] presence an intolerable evil; not to be endured and they must go out of the state or be exterminated" (p. 26). He voiced the same cry as others had uttered during the Second Seminole War. In response the United States government sent about 1,400 regular soldiers to Florida and began building new roads and restoring abandoned Second War forts.

When the Third War ended in May 1858, the Indian population had dropped to thirty-five warriors and some women, chil-

dren, and old men— in all no more than 100. Removal had been achieved by the same strategy as had ended the Second War, but only after all sorts of other random attempts, ranging from trying to bribe the natives to leave, to seeking to defeat them in white-style pitched battles, had failed. Small units penetrated the remotest of the Indian keeps, enduring heat, cold, insects, humidity, snake-bite, dysentery, and malaria to get there, and then had destroyed the native food supply and killed or captured as many of the foe as they could.

Even though the strategy was the same, the executors of it were different. When the Third War began in 1855, the United States government, and Floridians too, planned for the regular army to be the removal instrument. At the highest level of command it was Brigadier General William S. Harney who established an effective military organization for the guerrilla-style war, and his successor, Colonel Gustavus Loomis, who placed it in full operation. But out in the hammocks it was the citizen soldiers from Florida who carried out the search and destroy system. In the Second War, the regulars had done it.

I have but one fault to find with this gap-filling book: the two identical maps which are the front and rear end papers ought to include places mentioned in the text. Missing from those maps are Fish Eating Creek, Lakes Tohopekaliga, Istokpoga, Hamilton, and Monroe, and Forts Fraser, Crawford, Chokkonikla, Gardiner, Gatlin, Pierce, Clinch, Capron, McRae, Shackelford, Center, Hartsuff, Green, Hooker, Poinsett, Keais, Doane, and Simon Drum.

University of Florida.

JOHN K. MAHON

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 8, Oct. 10, 1771-April 18, 1773. Edited by George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chesnutt. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1980. x, 783 pp. Introduction, list of abbreviations, principal dates of Laurens's life, appendices, index. \$27.50.)

The Papers of Henry Laurens, Volume 9, April 19, 1773-Dec. 12, 1774. Edited by George C. Rogers, Jr., and David R. Chesnutt. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1981. xxii, 710 pp. Introduction, list of abbreviations, principal dates of Laurens's life, index. \$27.50.)

In the years covered by these two volumes (1771-1774) South Carolina planter Henry Laurens was in Europe. Spending much of his time in London, he also travelled throughout England and made four continental excursions, primarily to France and Switzerland. His wife had died in 1770, and Laurens went to England to supervise the education of his three sons. During Laurens's lifetime, Charleston had a hedonistic reputation associated with gambling, dancing, and excessive drinking, and a superficial interest in learning. This may have been unfair; in any case Laurens did not fit that mold. In England the Carolinian denounced the decadence and excesses of Georgian society and was relieved when he was able to relocate two of his sons to schools in republican Geneva.

Laurens was one of a group of upper class South Carolinians— Izards, Applebys, Beresfords, among others— who journeyed to England for business, educational, and personal reasons. Laurens visited them at the Carolina Coffee House in London and at Bristol and Bath. For several months he nursed his contemporary and old friend, Peter Manigault, who died nevertheless, and Laurens had the unpleasant duty of writing the family that the body was being returned to Charleston in a lead coffin. Young and foolish Mary Bremar, Laurens's niece, also arrived in London. Egerton Leigh had seduced young Molly— or vice versa— and she bore a child which soon died. Laurens eventually reconciled himself to Molly, placing her in a French convent away from temptation. But that “knave and fool” Leigh, with all his “lying, perjury, forgery,” etc., Laurens could never forgive. Leigh, president of the South Carolina council and a champion of the royal

prerogative, though initially a friend and business associate, in recent years had become Laurens's bitter political enemy.

True to his Calvinistic heritage, Laurens continued to make diligent use of his time in England, rising early and writing numerous letters. Part of his correspondence concerned management of his Carolina and Georgia plantations; overseers, friends, and relatives on the scene could not do it all. He assisted in selling rice, indigo, and deerskins sent out from America. He hoped to secure an improved rice-pounding mill, made preliminary arrangements to establish wine-making and sericulture on his holdings, and continued to purchase lands.

The Scot, Richard Oswald, Laurens's long-time friend and business partner, owned a large plantation in East Florida. Based on rice, indigo, and naval stores, East Florida's economy in many respects was an extension of that of Carolina and Georgia. Laurens advised Oswald about East Florida and consulted with prospective emigrants. Laurens promised the absentee planter, John Tucker, that as soon as he returned to America he would visit and report on Tucker's East Florida plantation. In general, however, Laurens thought one should not waste time on settling in that province.

With the Boston Tea Party (1773) and the Coersive Acts (1774), the movement toward colonial rebellion accelerated while Laurens was in England. He served as an unofficial colonial agent and was an outspoken Patriot, though a conservative one, vigorously upholding the rights of provincial assemblies. He did think Boston should pay for the tea, because property was one of those cherished inalienable rights. Storing the tea in a Charleston warehouse rather than destroying it was a better response. Collaborating with Ralph Izard, Arthur Lee, and other Americans, Laurens defended the actions of the colonies.

Repeated delays prevented him from returning to Carolina. Finally, after ensuring that sufficient Negro cloth would be sent out to his plantations, making arrangements for additional purchases of slaves, and winding up a multitude of personal and public obligations, he sailed for Carolina. Arriving in Charleston in December 1774, he became at once a leader of the Patriots, denouncing British tyranny and Parliament's resolve to reduce the colonies to abject slavery.

The editors, with their useful footnotes and informative in-

troductions, have continued the high standards set in preceeding volumes, and readers, including those interested in the British Floridas, can look forward to succeeding volumes dealing with the American Revolution.

Florida State University

J. LEITCH WRIGHT, JR.

Letters of Delegates to Congress, 1774-1789, Volume 6, January 1-April 30, 1777; Volume 7, May 1- September 18, 1777; Volume 8, September 19, 1777-January 31, 1778. Edited by Paul H. Smith, Gerard W. Gawalt, Rosemary Fry Plakas, and Eugene R. Sheridan. (Washington: Library of Congress, 1980; 1981; 1981. xxviii, 760 pp.; xxvi, 749 pp.; xxxi, 745 pp. Editorial method and apparatus, acknowledgements, chronology of Congress, list of delegates to Congress, illustrations, appendices, indexes, advisory committee. \$19.00; \$15.00; \$17.00.)

The thirteen months covered by these volumes were some of the most difficult of the Revolution, what John S. Pancake calls *The Year of the Hangman* as the subtitle of his book, 1777. As in the previous volumes of this magnificent series, the spare but utilitarian editing gives the reader an abundance of useful information: a chronology, a listing of delegates' elections and attendance, annotated illustrations, and in a few cases lengthy explanatory notes on topics including Quaker persecution, the Conway cabal, and a dispute between Washington, Howe, and Congress over some Hessian and British prisoners (Vol. 7, 573-75; Vol. 8, 330-31, 640-42).

Even more than in earlier volumes on the closely studied events of 1774-1776, these volumes contain, almost exclusively, previously unpublished materials (the chief exceptions being John Adams's letters to Abigail from the modern edition of the *Adams Papers* and John Witherspoon's speeches to Congress, the originals of which have disappeared— forcing the editors to rely on drafts in Witherspoon's *Works*).

Many of the letters give a powerful sense of immediacy, for example this letter from Charles Carroll to his father: "The Congress still continues the same noisy, empty & talkative as-

sembly it always was since I have known it. No progress has been made in the Confederation tho' all seem desirous of forming one. A good confederation I am convinced would give us great strength & new vigor. This State [Pennsylvania] is in a great degree disaffected, & the well affected are inactive & supine. This supineness & inactivity I attribute to the government & to the men who govern; they want wisdom, influence, & the confidence of a very great portion of the People" (Vol. 8, 50). Carroll's astute complaint indicates the themes of these volumes: talkativeness, irresolution, underlying but inert consensus, and the link between influential leadership and popular revolutionary activity. The letters of several delegates—Carroll, Henry Laurens, Elbridge Gerry, Thomas Burke, John Adams, James Lovell, Robert Morris, William Hooper, and Richard Henry Lee—provide the most incisive and articulate testimony on these themes.

Henry Laurens's letters in volumes 7 and 8 are more numerous, lengthy, and vivid than those of any other delegate. They explode with curiosity, indignation, and animation as in this portrayal of John Hancock: "I can have no prejudice" against him because "in our short acquaintance . . . we always . . . sat & drank together in great cordiality. . . . [He] has contributed largely to the promotion of party. His fawning mild address & obsequiousness procured him toleration from great men on both sides, a sort of favoritism from some. His idleness, duplicity & criminal partiality in a certain Circle laid the foundation of our present deplorable state" (Vol. 8, 545).

Equally compelling are seven letters from John Adams to Nathanael Greene in which Adams mixes naiveté about the military situation with acute insight into the history of warfare. "If our officers will not lead their Men I am for shooting all who will not," he complained. "It is high Time for us to abandon this exorable defensive Plan." A few weeks later Adams sent Greene a learned and intricate comparison of the Roman general, Lucius Sulla, and William Howe: "Howe is no Sylla," Adams concluded, "but he is manifestly aping two of Sylla's Tricks, holding out Proposals of Terms and bribing soldiers to desert. . . . Many of the Troops from Pensilvania, Maryland and Virginia are natives of England, Scotland and Ireland. . . . They have no Tie to this Country. They have no Principles. . . . These things give Howe great opportunities" (Vol. 6, 575; Vol. 7, 115).

Thomas Burke's extensive notes on the drafting of the Articles of Confederation appear often. In addition, Burke's "Draft Address to the Inhabitants of the United States" poured out in passionate, forceful prose his understanding of the causes of the Revolution. The "Address" deserves close study as a source on American tenacity in 1777 and an example of the Whigs' moral interpretation of their recent history.

Students of Florida history will value Henry Laurens's detailed discussion of August 30, 1777, of the case of George McIntosh of Georgia who was accused of illicit trade with the British in East Florida and the debates about a projected invasion of West Florida reported in Charles Thomson's notes of July 24 and Laurens's letter to John Rutledge of August 12, 1777.

*University of North Carolina
at Greensboro*

ROBERT M. CALHOON

Arthur Lee: A Virtuous Revolutionary. By Louis W. Potts. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xiv, 315 pp. Acknowledgements, notes, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

Biographers face a task so difficult the wonder is that anyone has the fortitude to complete a life of his chosen victim. Arthur Lee presents an unusually knotty problem to his biographer: how to deal with a difficult, perhaps tormented man, and one not attractive personally. Lee had none of the grand simplicities of Abraham Lincoln that allowed Benjamin P. Thomas to portray the man in a single volume. Nor did Lee have Teddy Roosevelt's combination of capacity and panache that enabled Henry F. Pringle to elaborate his career without holding up to ridicule Roosevelt's foibles or underplaying his contributions. No one pretends that either Thomas or Pringle said all, and certainly not the last word, but each solved his problem successfully. To be fair, Arthur Lee does not compare with Lincoln or Roosevelt in magnitude of achievement, nor has scholarly attention to Lee provided his biographer ready building stones for constructing his memorial. Whatever the reason Professor Potts falls considerably short of a balanced biography of Lee.

By ordinary predictors for success— family, education, opportunity— Arthur Lee should have played the creative role he envisioned for himself in the America of his day. Born (1740) into the Lee family of Stratford Hall (though a younger son with next to no patrimony), educated at Eton, later trained in medicine at the University of Edinburgh, passionately involved once the revolutionary troubles began, Lee failed of the recognition he felt he deserved for his manifold labors in behalf of his country and ended his days (1792) in “sordid pursuits,” a self-pitying martyr.

Some of the shortcomings of this biography can be chalked up to the subject: an unlovable man with inner tensions and unsatisfied cravings. Certainly the problem does not lie in the scarcity of material that all but debars biographers of Lee’s contemporary, Patrick Henry, from the full life portrait. Arthur Lee corresponded widely: Edmund Burke, Richard Price, Abbé Reynal, Rouchefoucauld, Shelburne, not to mention the Adamses, Franklin, and his own brothers. Furthermore he produced a respectable body of polemics, especially in the years immediately preceding independence. In his writing Arthur Lee should reveal himself: he assuredly did not refrain from pleading his own virtue, and in his title the author takes Lee at his own appraisal. Perhaps Lee felt constrained to blow his own horn: he lived in the shadow of abler men, for one, Benjamin Franklin, whom he resented and sharply criticized for indolence and carelessness. Yet Lee correctly suspected the spy, Edward Bancroft, who retained not only Franklin’s confidence but the post of secretary to the American legation in Paris as a base for reporting every American diplomatic move to his British superiors. Not merely suspicious but also contentious, Lee alienated many who might have been his allies in furthering the American cause. Lee’s bad judgment (pointed up in the prologue), the intemperateness that made him a telling polemicist, and his incredible conceit that led him to undervalue colleagues— all combined to hobble him as an effective agent of the infant republic.

To his credit Professor Potts refrains from cosmetics to conceal the warts. He establishes the facts of Lee’s life far more amply than Burton J. Hendrick (*The Lees of Virginia*) and without the filiopietism of Richard Henry Lee’s volumes published in the 1820s. The initial thirty-seven pages cover the first twenty-six

years of Lee's life; the last thirty-four pages sketch his career from 1781 until his death eleven years later.

The 213 pages between, three quarters of the book, are essentially a monograph— Arthur Lee and the American Revolution. Here in chapters 2 through 7 Professor Potts takes Lee through the war of polemics, the association with the Adamses, dealings with Beaumarchais, and the battle with Silas Deane, among other activities. Presumably the author is emphasizing, as a biographer should, what he considers important and revealing, in this instance fifteen years of revolutionary troubles that raised this “restless genius” to ambiguous notoriety, which still attaches to his name. He has some difficulty keeping Lee at center stage: Lee is overshadowed by major players and overwhelmed by the sweep of the drama— not a principal actor at all. Professor Potts does not improve matters with his mannered, uninformative chapter headings and his graceless prose, particularly his faddish addiction to *would* (the preterit of *will*) in a past future construction— a growing disease among some historians. In justification for this structural balance the author asserts (p. 70), “Arthur Lee was to play a pivotal role in history.” His account does not support this judgment.

University of Georgia

AUBREY C. LAND

Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832. By Robert V. Remini. (New York: Harper & Row, 1981. xvi, 469 pp. Preface, chronology, illustrations, notes, index. \$20.00.)

In reviewing Robert V. Remini's *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Empire, 1767-1821*, the present reviewer questioned in this journal (LVII, 478) whether the author could fulfill his announced intention to deal adequately with Jackson's career after 1821 in only one volume. Happily, Remini's publisher consented to allow him to expand what appears destined to be this generation's standard biography of Jackson into a three-volume work. *Andrew Jackson and the Course of American Freedom, 1822-1832*, carries the story of Old Hickory's life through his reelection as president in 1832. The third and final volume

will cover his second administration and the years of his retirement prior to his death in 1845.

In his earlier volume Remini's central thesis was that "Andrew Jackson, more than any other man of the nineteenth century . . . determined the course of American expansion" (p. xii). There is a central theme in the present study— that Jackson was "committed to an ideology that reflected the beliefs of the Founding Fathers, and he devised a program of change and renewal . . . by which he hoped to . . . restore the country and its government to virtue and honesty" (p. ix). Remini's emphasis upon the influence of republican ideology on Jackson is akin to the view put forth in Richard B. Latner's *The Presidency of Andrew Jackson: White House Politics, 1829-1837*. Although Remini does not share Latner's opinion that the Peggy Eaton affair grew out of a contest for control of the programmatic direction of the Jackson administration, Remini views Jackson not as an ideologue but rather as a "pragmatic politician fully prepared to compromise whenever it served his need" (p. 172). He concedes that he was motivated in part by personal ambition, private animosities, and deep-seated prejudices, and that at times, particularly when plagued by ill health, his behavior bordered on madness. On the whole, however, he displays sympathy for Jackson and his actions. He also firmly believes that "Jackson's political philosophy must be taken into serious account in any evaluation of his later career" (p. 35).

Crucial to Remini's designation of Jackson as the first reform president is his argument that what is commonly regarded as the Era of Good Feelings should be called "the nation's first Era of Corruption" (p. 15). "For a long time," he writes, "I resisted Jackson's contention about the corruption of this era, believing that it was largely a figment of his overwrought imagination. But the more I researched the period, the more the evidence convinced me that he knew what he was talking about" (pp. 396-97). This reviewer remains skeptical that Remini has proved that the period from 1816 to 1828 was relatively more corrupt than any other comparable period in early American history. Surely in light of the numerous speculations involving the customs houses and land offices, the gross mismanagement of the Post Office, and the unprecedented frauds that accompanied the removal of the Indians

during Jackson's presidency, a strong case could be made that his administration was a more conspicuous "Era of Corruption."

Remini has done a good job in showing how Jackson and his followers used the rhetoric inspired by the republican ideology of the American Revolution in his successful campaign to capture the presidency and in demonstrating the powerfulness of such appeals to the electorate that placed him there. But this writer is less convinced of the importance of that republican ideology in shaping Jackson's political actions. The republican principles of the Revolutionary era held strikingly different meanings to different Americans of Jackson's day. To opponents of slavery, for example, the terms "freedom" and "liberty"—two of the Old Hero's favorite expressions evoking the memory of the Founding Fathers—had entirely different connotations from those held by the seventh president. And even Jackson, according to Remini, entertained different meanings of those words from time to time. Prior to his election Jackson considered freedom to mean "the right of the individual to be left alone to enjoy the fruits of his labor without interference by government," but "more and more during his presidency the term 'freedom' became identified with majority rule." It is hoped that Remini will deal more fully with this transformation by which he argues that "Jackson subverted not only the meaning of freedom but the entire concept of 'republicanism'" (p. 323). Remini notes that by 1832 some of Jackson's opponents, alarmed over his strong executive leadership, were concerned about "the possible danger it posed to their republican system of government" (p. 391). In 1833, the first year to be covered in Remini's third volume, those opponents organized the Whig party and adopted the time-honored name of the Revolutionary patriots who first established republican rule in America.

University of Houston

EDWIN A. MILES

The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830-1860. Edited by Drew Gilpin Faust. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. x, 306 pp. Preface, introduction, selected bibliography of secondary works on the proslavery argument. \$25.00; \$8.95 paper.)

In this book Drew Gilpin Faust presents the writings of seven major pro-slavery authors. Unlike Eric L. McKittrick's volume, *Slavery Defended*, which is now out of print, this collection consists of complete or almost complete works, not brief excerpts. It thus serves the valuable function of making readily accessible in one volume an important body of antebellum polemical thought. The book will be especially useful for courses in southern and Civil War-era history.

All the essays were originally composed during the thirty years preceding the Civil War; all but two were included in E. N. Elliott's monumental collection of pro-slavery writings, *Cotton Is King* (1860). Overall, the essays present a good cross-section of southern pro-slavery thought. (The only apparent shortcoming is Professor Faust's failure to include one or two earlier writings in defense of slavery; their absence is especially striking in light of her emphasis in the introduction on the essential continuity of pro-slavery arguments from the eighteenth century through the antebellum period.) Although the seven authors borrowed ideas liberally from each other, and defended slavery on a multiplicity of grounds, their emphases varied. Thomas Dew stressed the impracticality of emancipation proposals, while Thornton Stringfellow elaborated on the biblical justification of slavery; Josiah C. Nott argued on "scientific" grounds that blacks were physiologically inferior to whites and unfit for freedom, while William Harper, James H. Hammond, and Henry Hughes defended the humanity of southern slavery, which they contrasted with the brutality of northern "wage-slavery." The latter argument was pushed to the ultimate extreme in George Fitzhugh's article "Southern Thought," which appeared in *DeBow's Review* in 1857 and enunciated more pithily themes he had already presented in his books *Sociology for the South* and *Cannibals All!*

The editor's twenty-page introduction serves nicely to put the pro-slavery movement in perspective, by presenting both a brief

history of the defense of slavery and a historiographical survey of the subject. Probably most controversial is her rejection of George Fredrickson's categorization of pro-slavery thought into two camps, the majority "herrenvolk democrats" who stressed racial arguments, and a smaller group of aristocrats who portrayed the South as a bastion of conservative order in a world gone mad with democracy and individualism. Instead, she maintains, the pro-slavery movement had a unified "mainstream," and "the defenses of slavery [were] . . . remarkably consistent with one another" (p. 10). One of the virtues of Professor Faust's fine collection is that readers will be able to judge this question for themselves, in the process coming to a better understanding of the mind of the antebellum white South.

University of New Mexico

PETER KOLCHIN

Victims, A True Story of the Civil War. By Philip Shaw Paludan. (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1981. xvi, 144 pp. Acknowledgements, preface, epilogue, appendix, index. \$11.95.)

Small packages often contain pleasant surprises. Such is certainly the case with *Victims, A True Story of the Civil War*. This intelligently conceived, imaginatively argued, and skillfully written book contributes significantly to the literature of the Civil War, to the social history of American law, and to the debate among historians about how best to do history.

In January 1863 Confederate troops assigned to suppress Unionist guerrillas in western North Carolina massacred thirteen residents of the valley community of Shelton Laurel. The victims, some of whom had undoubtedly engaged in bushwacking Confederate troops, marched forth from their place of imprisonment believing their captors intended to deliver them to authorities in Knoxville. Shortly after the journey began, however, the Confederate officer in charge, Colonel James A. Keith, halted the column of prisoners. He ordered his apparently reluctant troops to execute the prisoners by shooting them in two groups of five and one of three. The last to die was a thirteen-year-old boy, who having already witnessed the murders of his father and brothers,

pleaded unsuccessfully to return to his mother. The troops left wild hogs to root up the hastily buried corpses.

Phillip Paludan frames the pathos of this atrocity in the context of individual lives powerfully altered by the forces of war. He deals at once with the motivation of the killers, the sentiment of the victims, and the clash of cultural differences that informed both. Colonel Keith and his subordinate, Captain Lawrence M. Allen, were residents of the nearby town of Marshall. Like many townspeople in the sparsely-settled western region of North Carolina they were Confederate sympathizers who looked contemptuously on the isolated mountain folk of places like Shelton Laurel. The Confederate commanding general in the region, Henry Heth, was the son of a Virginia planter, a friend of Robert E. Lee, and a veteran of irregular warfare in the West. Bold, courageous, and unthinking, Heth, Paludan argues, encouraged ruthlessness in his subordinate officers and may have even directed, as Keith claimed, the summary execution of guerrillas. The rough terrain, poor weather, and the Unionists's bushwacking tactics pushed Confederate officers from frustration, to brutishness, to savagery. All of these conditions combined with the uncertain legal status of irregular troops to foster the human depravity that culminated in massacre.

The people of Shelton Laurel, Paludan argues, were an inbred, traditional mountain culture that valued family, land, and isolation. Suspicious of Confederates in the towns, the mountaineers became "Lincolmites" and quickly deserted Confederate service after conscription. Under the exigencies of war traditional and modern values clashed; the result was suspicion, disdain, and ultimately hatred. The massacre, Paludan concludes, was more than an incident of war; it was the collision of cultures, a collision long in the making.

Paludan reveals that military and civil authorities failed to mete out justice. No person was ever punished. Confederate military officials covered up the incident. Immediately following the War the North Carolina Supreme Court ruled that the state's constitution, which granted amnesty to participants in the War, precluded prosecution of Keith. Some years later, Congress declined to grant pensions to the families of the victims on the incredible ground that the petitioners failed to submit proof that the killings had actually occurred.

Victims deserves thoughtful— and certainly critical— attention from professional historians groping for ways to infuse the methodological insights of other disciplines into their work while reaching a broad reading audience. Paludan exploits social science and psychological theory to probe issues of motivation otherwise obscured by a thin historical record. His narrative style emphasizes emotional impact and verisimilitude; the author quite unabashedly allows the reader to crawl inside the skins of murderers and victims.

Paludan offers a powerful story of small human tragedy amidst the cataclysm of the Civil War. Both in substance and method he speaks to us, as do all fine historians, with subtle yet undiluted force.

University of Florida

KERMIT L. HALL

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 10: 1909-1911. Edited Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981. xxvi, 660 pp. Introduction, symbols and abbreviations, bibliography, index. \$27.50.)

There emerges from these pages, covering only three years of the life of Booker T. Washington, an almost new and different personality. Whether he liked it or not he had virtually become an office-broker for Negroes north and south. The president of Tuskegee made the transition from the Roosevelt to the Taft administrations with seeming success. Roosevelt commended him to Taft “as the truest friend the party had among the race.”

In these latter years Booker T. Washington had become both a national and international figure who had access to personages in high places in Washington, and to the pages of many current periodicals. He came to write almost *ex-cathedra* on the racial issues, education, politics, and Negro economy. His letter to Louis Bronislavovich Skarzynski, a Polish count, in answer to a series of questions on liquor, prohibition, and the Negro, March 11, 1909, reveals this fact with marked clarity.

In November and December 1909, Booker T. Washington made a tour by special train across Tennessee and southern Kentucky. Along the way he spoke on education. This was well

covered by the national press. He was depressed by some conditions, but generally preached the intellectual advancement of his race.

Two famous Negroes come into focus in this volume, George Washington Carver and William Edward Burkhardt DuBois. Neither of these men appealed to Washington. His correspondence with Carver has both an impatient and condescending tone of the administrator asking work-a-day practical results from his staff. He showed little tolerance for pure research, and attempted to prescribe guidelines for his agricultural chemist and experiment station director. No doubt Dr. Carver should never have been saddled with the onerous duties of director.

The conflict with DuBois was philosophically more fundamental. Washington regarded DuBois as a dunce, and in January 1911, in a letter to Timothy Thomas Fortune, he accused DuBois of fleeing the Atlanta riots and hiding in an Alabama school. The chasm between the two men was broad and largely unbridgable. DuBois supported the cause of the poorer and less privileged of his race and accused Washington of thinking of them largely in the abstract and from an altogether different level of observation and audience appeal. DuBois may have had the more acute sense of basic racial economic and everyday social needs. However, he was never able to make the approaches to a discussion of the Negro in high places as did Booker T. Washington.

Washington crusaded with selected audiences at home, and with comparable ones abroad. On his famous European tour he traveled almost as official ambassador with advanced arrangements being made for him. Back home in 1911, he campaigned with newspaper and magazine editors to dignify his race by capitalizing Negro instead of using the slurring lower case letter.

There parades through this volume an almost endless procession of national and regional names such as Samuel Gompers, James Hardy Dillard, Hilary Herbert, William Crum, Clark Howell, Hollis Burke Frissell, Robert Curtis Ogden, and George Foster Peabody. In these years Booker T. Washington had become sure of himself as a political power, no doubt jealous of his position, and a spokesman not only for a southern constituency, but for Negroes in Liberia, Haiti, and other places.

There appears in articles and letters numerous value judge-

ments of the good and the bad among white Southerners. Most often he adopted a conciliatory view. The letters and papers appearing in this volume give a good, but sometimes oblique view of the racially transitional era in which there was a growing awareness among both races of their interdependence, but there is seldom a hint of means for fostering this awareness. Again, the papers of Booker T. Washington reach far out beyond a single personality in their importance in portraying the currents of change and strivings to find a happy median of racial coexistence and cooperation not only in the South but in the world.

University of Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

The Oratory of Southern Demagogues. Edited by Cal M. Logue and Howard Dorgan. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. 286 pp. Illustrations, contributors., index. \$22.50.)

Historians familiar with twentieth-century American politics will find little new information in this study of the oratory of southern demagogues. Most of the historical background is drawn from standard published biographies or unpublished but well known dissertations. Nonetheless, the volume is valuable for what it brings together in one place. By comparing the oratorical skills and emotional appeals of nine demagogues (Jeff Davis, Benjamin Tillman, James K. Vardaman, Tom Watson, Cole Blease, "Cotton Ed" Smith, Theodore Bilbo, Huey P. Long, and Eugene Talmadge), the authors are able to compare styles and philosophies in a way not previously done.

Common themes stand out in sharp relief. All of the speakers brought a certain arrogance to the stump which appealed to their mostly powerless and self-deprecating audiences. They expressed contempt for the social, economic, and political establishments, even when they sometimes belonged to them. Such rhetoric was well received by poor whites who were eager for explanations and scapegoats for their own deprivation. The speakers also were promoters who successfully marketed themselves and their policies. Usually, their emotional appeals over-simplified complex issues and confused legitimate debate.

Themes which emerged from all the essays tend to reinforce many historical generalities about the twentieth-century South. Obviously, "reforms" in voting which allowed common whites more power also produced political showmen whose campaigns consisted more of froth than of substance. The poverty of the white South is overwhelmingly a factor in every essay. The mindless racism which permeated society also appears repeatedly. One sometimes forgets that before the age of television and standardized newspaper coverage of campaigns, politicians could make such slanderous and contradictory charges.

But there are also differences in the orators. Some of the demagogues were cynical opportunists who obviously cared little for the common whites whose votes they sought and did nothing of substance to help them once elected; Cole Blease, "Cotton Ed" Smith, and Eugene Talmadge fit this pattern. Others, although equally cynical in their appeals, enacted substantive legislative reform; Jeff Davis, James K. Vardaman, Tom Watson, and Huey Long fit this designation. Benjamin Tillman and Theodore Bilbo fit somewhere between the categories. Almost as pervasive as race in the litany of the demagogues was the use of Protestant Christianity. Both the symbol and rhetoric of evangelicalism influenced all these speakers to one degree or another.

As with any anthology, the quality of the essays vary. All attempt to put the speaker in a broad historical context. Some essayists then utilize a rather heavy dose of professional jargon from rhetorical criticism; thankfully, most write cogently and plainly. Some authors concentrate on a single campaign, while others build their analysis upon an entire career. Obviously, the scope varies widely as a result.

If only because it brings together so many fascinating men from a lost age of oratorical flourish, this book is useful. It also reminds us that no matter how bad we believe the current crop of politicians to be, we have come a long way forward in the quality of American political debate.

Auburn University

WAYNE FLYNT

Americans and Their Servants, Domestic Service in the United States from 1800 to 1920. By Daniel E. Sutherland. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981. xv, 229 pp. Preface, prologue, bibliographical essay, illustrations, index. \$20.00.)

This volume fills an important gap in American social and economic history in proposing "to describe and clarify the forces shaping the occupation of domestic service and the lives of domestic servants in the United States between 1800 and 1920." The focus is "the servant problem," as viewed both by servants and employers. "Servants" are defined as "free laborers as opposed to slaves and indentured workers performing household or personal service in private homes, boarding houses, and hotels." The "problem" is portrayed as not one but many problems originating in the historically severe social stigma on domestic service and servants derived from the British tradition (deepened by the American experience with slavery); the vestiges of a feudal master-servant relationship; and an unfounded naive belief of employers and reformers in a mythical golden age of domestic service.

The need for domestic servants is described, as are the efforts to increase the supply by immigration, migration, and commercial recruitment firms, among other techniques. Despite these attempts and the availability of a large pool of unemployed, a perceived "shortage" remained throughout the century due primarily to the employers' image of a "good" servant. "Good" servants were defined as obedient, moral, and religious, with racial and national origins similar to the employer. The "problem" as viewed by the servant was one of maintaining human dignity and securing fair treatment by employers in the nature of work, hours, compensation, and other working conditions. Motives and efforts to maintain class lines by employers and reformers alike and the stereotypes servants and employers held of each other added to the normal human relations difficulties.

Thorough research is reflected throughout the ten chapters. Statistics are provided on many aspects of domestic service, including the ratio of servants to households, the growth and decline (after 1910) in the number of servants, the predominance of women, literacy rates, the changes over time in their average age, marital status, and the relative ranking of racial and national

origins. Attention is also given to the morals and intelligence of servants, their "way of life," including recreation, patterns of hours, organization of work, and compensation. The author describes the tension and "warfare" between employer and servant in many households as well as feeble protests, including unsuccessful efforts to organize labor unions, affiliate with existing unions, and strike.

Reform is a major theme with Professor Sutherland, and his contribution is important in describing reform's changing emphasis. The first efforts were designed to reform the servants themselves through instruction in moral and religious values, appropriate behavior and etiquette, and household operation. The reformers, like the employers, also sought to improve the supply of "good" workers. Reform societies and benevolent institutions established more reliable registry offices, prizes and cash to servants for exemplary behavior, vocational training, and boarding houses for female servants; but few of these activities influenced greatly the conditions of domestic service.

A small literary group took a different tack in the second third of the century by writing about the conditions of service and urging both servants and employers to improve them. Notable were Cathern M. Sedgwick, whose shocking novel, *Live and Let Live or Domestic Service Illustrated*, was intended to give more public attention to the subject, and later, Catherine Esther Beecher, whose solutions shifted the focus to improving household operations and the responsibilities of employers.

Beecher's writings signaled a national trend toward reform based on a new "scientific" age and an approach led by the new college-educated middle class, including college professors of "household science." College curricula and courses emerged, with the University of Illinois initiating a four-year program in 1875, and a national home economics movement coming into full bloom in universities by the turn of the century. Vassar Professor Lucy Maynard Salmon formed the academic foundation of much of this and the later Home Economics movement with her 1897 monograph, *Domestic Service*, in which she suggested four approaches to improve domestic service. The basic foundation for solutions, according to Salmon, was public education in household affairs. Partly as a consequence of this new approach, literary

efforts continued, reform societies re-surfaced, and in 1909, the American Home Economics Association was formed.

Nevertheless, these new efforts were not much more successful than previous ones, according to Professor Sutherland. The author attributes the causes of failure of reformers to disputes concerning methods, goals, and general principles of reform, to the obstinancy of employers and servants, and the wide diversity and complexity of problems.

The role of government in the reform movement was appraised as half-hearted and haphazard, with the federal government quite tardy in even recognizing domestic service as a "legitimate field of labor." Reform legislation, or what there was of it, was left to the states because the federal government considered the wide variation of conditions of service beyond regulation in wages, hours, or other working conditions.

The book's final chapter summarizes the many changes in domestic service over the 1800-1920 period; the composition and number of servants, the appearance and organization of American households, and the methods of housekeeping, all of which reduced the need for servants. The author concludes, however, that "Americans had not been able to change domestic service as they had originally intended to change it, but as circumstances gradually altered the nature of housekeeping and home life, different, more workable solutions suggested themselves." The changing technological, economic, political, and social environment in America had all altered the domestic service. "Unfortunately, no one knew exactly how this had happened and whether the winds of change had blown ill or fair."

Americans and Their Servants is a valuable book that meets a need in giving attention to a small but generally neglected visible part of the work force. Although the author's purpose is an ambitious undertaking in scope and detail, he achieves it by giving us a wealth of information in a soundly researched volume which will likely provoke other scholarship in the subject.

University of Hawaii

DURWARD LONG

Reflections of Southern Jewry, the Letters of Charles Wessolowsky, 1878-1879. Edited by Louis E. Schmier. (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1982. viii, 184 pp. Acknowledgments, appendices, index. \$12.95.)

Charles Wessolowsky was a native of Prussian Posen. In 1858 he left his native land for America, first settling in Sanderson, Georgia, where an older brother lived. Like many other Jewish immigrants of his era he took up peddling. Four years after his arrival in Georgia he became a soldier and displayed sufficient valor in combat to be promoted to regimental sergeant major. After the Civil War he moved to Albany, Georgia, where he soon was recognized as the leader of that town's thirty Jewish families. He held positions of responsibility in the local Masonic lodge and was politically active, serving at various times as city alderman, clerk of the county superior court, state representative, and state senator.

In 1877 Wessolowsky agreed to become associate editor of *The Jewish South*. During 1878 and 1879 he took trips through much of the South to promote both the newspaper and B'nai B'rith. His journey took him to more than sixty villages and towns in seven states. Unfortunately for readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* he did not include Florida in his travels. The letters Wessolowsky wrote were sent to editor Edward B. Browne, and they form the basis for this book.

Wessolowsky's letters provide invaluable data— in some cases, the only extant data— of Jewish life in small communities of the South. The letters reveal the prosperity of Jewish settlers and the high regard which most Gentiles then had for them. A surprising number of Jewish Southerners were community leaders, bankers, and elected public officials. Anti-Semitism was rare, and one's success was determined mainly by one's ability. Wessolowsky found that many small communities were able to support impressive synagogues and to provide children with quality religious education.

Despite the obvious value of these letters, they do have some limitations. Wessolowsky was no Alexis de Tocqueville. He seldom asked probing questions, and it seems to this reviewer that he consistently overestimated the Jewish population of the towns he visited. Wessolowsky appears to have been of the opinion

that the typical Jewish family consisted of eight to twelve members, a rather high figure even for the nineteenth century. Moreover, Wessolowsky's opinion of a town and its inhabitants was all too often determined solely by his evaluation of its religious institutions. These criticisms, however, are not meant to downgrade Wessolowsky's rather considerable contribution to our knowledge about the lives of nineteenth-century southern Jewry.

Professor Schmier of Valdosta State College edited these letters in a fashion that can best be described as superb. Newspapers, National Archives records, tax records, and oral history interviews were all used to flesh out details about the story of Wessolowsky's life. Footnotes appear throughout the volume explaining in detail Jewish customs and observances, ensuring that non-Jews will be able to follow the text of the letters with minimal difficulty. Capsule summaries appear with each letter, and appendices at the end of the volume provide important data on Jewish fraternal organizations.

Following the letters is Schmier's brief essay on the importance of Wessolowsky's observations and a well-reasoned account of the current status of southern Jewish historiography. Schmier, a founder and officer of the Southern Jewish Historical Society, is well versed on this subject and asks significant questions that should inspire others to do needed research on what is still virgin territory in American history. All in all, this is an important volume—one that belongs in all southern public and college libraries and one that is mandatory for all southern synagogue libraries. Schmier is to be congratulated for making available one of the major sources of information about nineteenth-century southern Jews.

Winthrop College

ARNOLD SHANKMAN

Ethnic America, A History. By Thomas Sowell. (New York: Basic Books, 1981. 353 pp. Introduction, notes, index. \$16.95.)

Expanding upon and refining the thesis he originally developed in *Race and Economics* (1975), Thomas Sowell asserts that historically a free economy, unrestrained by government interference, has worked best in enabling ethnic groups to achieve

mobility in American society. He notes that this mobility has been widespread and has afforded real prosperity for the nine ethnic groups he examines.

A leading black economist and disciple of Milton Friedman, Sowell criticizes the moralistic approach which alleges that minority progress is the result of new rights or partial acceptance. Sowell finds instead that ethnic groups achieved considerable progress amidst widespread discrimination. The Japanese and Chinese, in particular, experienced real economic gains during periods of intense anti-Oriental feelings on the west coast.

Reiterating views he initially expressed in *Race and Economics*, Sowell contends that the economic and cultural heritage of America's ethnic groups had a profound effect on their economic assimilation. Jews, for example, came from an urban background where they had engaged in such economic activities as weaving, trading, and money lending. These economic pursuits were greatly needed in the United States and provided Jews with almost instantaneous success. The Irish on the other hand came from a rural heritage where they had developed few economic skills for an urban society. As a consequence, the Irish struggled at menial jobs for several generations before achieving economic success.

Much of the book examines the economic experiences of nine immigrant groups from Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Relying almost entirely on secondary sources, some of which are less than reliable, Sowell sympathetically observes that among ethnic groups "much depends on the whole constellation of values, attitudes, skills, and contacts that many call a culture and that economists call 'human capital' " (p. 282). He also points out that each ethnic group was subject to the economic characteristics of the region in which they located. Mexicans, for example, earned twice as much in Detroit as in Texas towns. "These differences within the same ethnic group are greater than the differences between any ethnic group and the larger society," Sowell asserts (p. 11). This seems quite sensible, but what does twice as much mean for a Mexican-American in Detroit as opposed to one in Laredo? It is conceivable that the disparity in income is not nearly as meaningful when measured against the cost of living in the respective communities,

and that economic mobility was not necessarily assured by high northern salaries.

Sowell does argue very persuasively that I.Q.'s do vary significantly over time, despite the arguments of Arthur Jensen and others to the contrary. Russian Jews, who have above average I.Q.'s today, had the lowest mental test scores on the United States Army intelligence tests until the post-1950 period. As in *Race and Economics*, Sowell stresses the value of education in providing ethnic groups with economic advancement. The Jews and Japanese made great sacrifices to send their children to school, but they ultimately became the two most successful ethnic groups in American society.

Sowell also argues that fertility rates have a significant influence on mobility. High fertility "lowers the standard of living of a group by spreading a given income more thinly among family members" (p. 7). He points out that many of today's more successful ethnic groups had high fertility rates during their first years, but reduced their birth rates significantly over time.

Sowell has temporized several of his contentions from *Race and Economics*. He no longer argues that the Japanese internment was as beneficial economically for Japanese-Americans. His observations on slavery in the Western Hemisphere are also much more sophisticated. In all, this is a stronger volume than *Race and Economics*. The impression still exists, however, that Sowell has marshaled his facts to underscore the need for less government interference in the private sector. Could it be that minorities today are enjoying as much economic progress, and in a more wholesome environment, thanks to the active role of the federal government than they did in the period from 1830-1945? Sowell never addresses this question.

University of Florida

DAVID R. COLBURN

The New Urban America, Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities.

By Carl Abbott. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1981. viii, 340 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, notes, bibliography, index, illustrations. \$19.95; \$9.95 paper.)

A surge of recent books bear titles or subtitles such as *The Rise of the Sunbelt Cities*, *The Rise of the Sunbelt and the Decline of the Northeast*, and *The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment*. For those of us who came of academic age while studying the influence of mythology, plantation slavery, or peculiarly un-American historical experiences on the formation of a southern culture, the sudden marriage of California (or, depending upon the book, southern California) to South Carolina requires a considerable leap of imagination. Goodness knows the reaction of western historians who now learn that the end result of the frontier experience was to make the West southern.

But if all this is a bit difficult to fathom, Carl Abbott's *The New Urban America, Growth and Politics in Sunbelt Cities* makes it vastly more complicated. The sunbelt, according to Abbott, includes Maryland and Delaware but excludes Louisiana and Arkansas. It includes Washington and Oregon but excludes Mississippi and Alabama—er, well, no, it does not exactly exclude Alabama since it includes Mobile but otherwise excludes Alabama. On top of this, Abbott, having split the South more decisively than Grant's victory at Vicksburg, consistently refers to "the South" (and "the West") while rarely making clear whether he means the Sunbelt South (which includes Mobile but not Alabama), the Census South, or something else. And then there are the tables and figures, most of which are inadequately labeled and require yet another reading of the narrative in search of hints about what the data in the displays might represent. *The New Urban America* is for the determined reader.

Yet, despite serious problems, the book also has merit. Abbott defines the sunbelt primarily in terms of urban growth: those southern and western states with cities that grew rapidly in the post-World War II era are a part of the sunbelt while those mid-South states without burgeoning urban areas are cast out. Five "sunbelt" cities—Norfolk, Atlanta, San Antonio, Denver, and Portland—are examined intensively. Not surprisingly, Abbott

finds that in important ways "San Antonio, Atlanta, and Norfolk are more typical sunbelt cities than is Denver or Portland" (46).

The author's central concerns are the similarities between the expansive metropolitan areas that developed during the "post-industrial" era and the differences between these cities and the older metropolitan centers of the North and East. Many of the findings are predictable. The "postindustrial" "automobile" cities of the sunbelt emerged as decentralized, sprawling metropolitan areas. Vigorous urban renewal efforts failed to stem the flow of people and economic power to the suburban office parks, shopping malls, and industrial parks. The increasingly self-conscious suburbanites successfully resisted further expansion of the central cities, and thus the sunbelt "cities which have lost their battle for continued territorial growth will increasingly find themselves faced with the same problems of obsolescence that haunt New York and Chicago" (p. 254). So much for "the new urban America."

Abbott is at his best when tracing the general political and demographic trends in sunbelt cities and particularly in his five key cities. The World War II "boom" in people and prosperity and the accompanying urban problems generated a business oriented urban reform movement that sought to modernize city governmental procedures and to expand municipal boundaries. These successful reform administrations laid the foundation for a "growth consensus" that dominated urban governments during the 1950s and 1960s. During the late 1960s, the business growth consensus began to break apart. Minority groups, whose neighborhoods usually contributed the raw materials for urban renewal and whose leaders demanded greater power, revolted from the businessmen's coalition; middle-class "quality of life" liberals grew concerned about the costs of urban growth; and the prospering suburbs became openly hostile toward the central cities. The "golden age for the planners, housing experts, public health specialists, and redevelopment officials," not to mention real estate speculators and the chambers of commerce, gave way to "the politics of community independence" (pp. 247,245). Little of this is new, but Abbott does effectively document the general patterns of urban development.

University of Georgia

NUMAN V. BARTLEY

BOOK NOTES

He Was Singin' This Song, by Jim Bob Tinsley, is a musical and historical narrative of the Old West. It also includes a short chapter on Florida. The forty-eight annotated songs which Tinsley writes about are examples of the popular music of the era. Because most of the songs were unwritten, the author studied early transcriptions. He also collected stories that related to the music. The songs reflect the hard, lonely life led by the cowboys. The music was not original; most of the tunes were borrowed from Negro spirituals, Irish jigs, and Scottish reels. The cowboys improvised the verses based on their work and their experiences. The author, who has been a working cowboy in Arizona and Florida, devotes the chapter "Bad Brahma Bull," to this state. Florida, he notes has been called "the birthplace of the American cattle industry." Ponce de Leon and de Soto brought cows to Florida in the sixteenth century, but whether this is the origin of the scrub cattle of frontier Florida is not known. Regardless, these cows were a sorry lot. In 1885 an observer wrote, "Florida cattle of this section are the poorest specimens of the bovine race known." Notwithstanding, cattle were being shipped to Havana, Key West, the Dry Tortugas, and the Bahamas even before the Civil War. Florida became a major source of beef for the Confederate armies, and Jake Summerlin was the great cattle baron of the state. During the first two years of the war he provided some 25,000 steers. The drive from the Caloosahatchee to Baldwin, near the Georgia border, was a forty-day trip. Summerlin later shipped cattle to Cuba, using the shipping facilities at Punta Rassa on the lower Gulf coast. His cattle came from as far north as St. Augustine. The drive from there to the shipping port required from five to six weeks. Brahma cattle and selective cross-breeding has now established Florida as one of the best beef producing states. Frederic Remington, the American artist, visited Florida in the late nineteenth century and drew a number of sketches of the cowboys around Kissimmee and Tampa. *He Was Singin' This Song* includes forewords by Gene Autry and S. Omar Barker. Published by University of Florida Press, Gainesville, it sells for \$30.00.

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The Days of Our Years, by August Burghard, is a history of the First Presbyterian Church of Fort Lauderdale. It was written in honor of the seventieth anniversary of the church which was organized on April 12, 1912, by Pastor-Evangelist R. W. Edwards. Mr. Burghard, who has chronicled much of the history of his community and county, used church records to gather his data, but he also includes anecdotes, quotes, and information secured by talking to many church and community old-timers. The Methodists organized in 1905, the Baptists two years later. There were about 100 people in the town at the time, and a limestone road connected it with West Palm Beach and Miami. The water supply was rain water caught in tanks. Most of the area was covered by heavy growth of palmetto and pine. Having no building of their own, the Presbyterians organized in the Methodist Church. The church was formally incorporated in 1915, and a campaign began for the construction of a building on Las Olas Boulevard. Completed in 1920, the first services were held there on Easter Sunday. Mr. Burghard's text traces the growth and development of the church, and he has utilized scores of pictures to add to the interest of his narrative. Many of these photographs are from the scrapbooks and picture albums of the members. *The Days of Our Years* sells for \$25.00. Order from First Presbyterian Church, 401 S.W. 15 Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33301.

Clyde S. Stephens has not only written a family history in *Stephens Ancestors and Pioneer Relatives*, he has also provided a model for anyone planning to do the research needed to compile a genealogical record and develop a family history. He separates fact (documented information) from legend (oral tradition), and urges genealogical researchers to do the same. Do not accept legends or oral tradition as fact, Stephens warns, unless it can be verified through accurate records in archives, libraries, churches, courthouses, cemeteries, and photographic collections. The earliest Stephens was John Henry who moved from St. Augustine to North Carolina in the 1760s. He married a Cherokee Indian, and their descendants proliferated and spread throughout the South into South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Texas, and Florida. By the end of the Civil War there were Stephenses living in Hillsborough County, and they and related families soon

settled in other parts of Florida— the lower Gulf coast, and Dade, Levy, Duval, Monroe, Alachua, and Marion counties. Order from Carl W. Stephens, Route 2, Box 840, Alva, Florida 33920. The price is \$15.00.

The Fort Lauderdale Historical Society has printed *A Guide to Historic Fort Lauderdale/Broward County*. It notes thirty-three historic sites in Fort Lauderdale and thirty-seven in Broward County. There is also a listing of “origins of local place-names,” and appropriate maps. Copies are available from the Society, 219 S.W. 2 Avenue, Fort Lauderdale, Florida 33302.

Miami Beach Art Deco District is a listing with pictures of some of the properties included in the south Miami Beach area. This area was recognized as a historic district on the National Register for Historic Places. Copies of this booklet are available for a \$5.00 contribution to the Miami Design Preservation League's Legal Defense Fund, 1300 Ocean Drive, Miami Beach, Florida 33139. There is also a \$1.00 mailing charge.

Stoney Knows How, Life as a Tattoo Artist is by Leonard L. St. Clair and Alan B. Govenar. St. Clair, or Stoney as he was known, was a circus person. For more than twenty years he traveled with circuses and carnivals, working mainly as a sword-swallower. In the winter, however, he always opened a tattoo shop in some place where it was warm. He particularly liked Florida and operated his first shop there in 1936. He worked in many Florida cities, including Miami and Key West, but Tampa was his favorite. Later, when the circus gave up its tent operations and went “indoors,” he became a year-round tattoo shop operator. He stayed on in Tampa, until tattooing began to be regulated by the state. Then he moved to Columbus, Ohio, and that is where folklorist Alan Govenar came to know him. Govenar organized Stoney's oral reminiscences, and this book is the result. It was published by the University Press of Kentucky, Lexington, and it sells for \$13.50.

Hush, Child! Can't You Hear the Music? includes some of the folk tales collected by Rose Thompson during the 1930s and 1940s. She was working in rural Georgia as a home supervisor with

the Farm Security Administration. She heard the stories as she worked with the black farmers who loved and trusted her. She wrote in her own special kind of shorthand and had to transcribe quickly, so as not to forget any of the words or phrases. Several of these stories were published in the Winter 1977 issue of *Foxfire*. The twenty-five stories in this collection, which includes those from *Foxfire*, were edited by Charles Beaumont and were published by the University of Georgia Press in its Brown Thrasher series. Beaumont also taped some eight hours of interview with Miss Thompson, and excerpts are used throughout the book to explain the stories and the circumstances relating to their telling. Most of the photographs in the book were taken in Green County, Georgia, by Rose Thompson, about the same time that she was collecting stories. This appealing book documents the rich oral tradition of southern rural blacks. It sells for \$12.50.

Dr. Howard L. Holley, in his *A History of Medicine in Alabama*, traces medical practices from the early eighteenth century to the present. Fort Toulouse, he notes, was built by the French in Mobile in 1714, and a surgeon was assigned there five years later. When the British took over West Florida in 1763, the small military hospital in Mobile contained sixteen beds, but during the "sickly" season, it was too small, and the sick had to be placed in private homes. Bernard Romans and Dr. John Lorimer noted in their late nineteenth-century writings the many plants and herbs growing in Alabama which could be utilized for medicinal purposes. William Bartram, during his visit to Alabama, was taken ill but was nursed back to health with medication from a local plant. From these early beginnings in Alabama, Dr. Holley points out, some of the nation's finest medical centers, public health facilities, and medical education programs have developed. Medical practice during and after the Civil War, the growth of local and state medical societies, medical journals, public health, the mental health movement, dentistry, and pharmacy as a profession are some of the topics covered in *A History of Medicine in Alabama*. Published by the University of Alabama Press for the University of Alabama School of Medicine, it sells for \$35.00.

Youngblood has come to be recognized as one of the important black social protest novels published in the 1950s. Its 1954 publication coincides with the *Brown* decision by the United States Supreme Court. *Youngblood* describes the lives of the black family by that name who lived in the Georgia community of Crossroads, Georgia, from the beginning of the century to the 1930s. The author is John Oliver Killens, himself a Georgian, from Macon. This reprint volume was published by the University of Georgia Press in its Brown Thrasher series. It includes a foreword by Addison Gayle. The paperback edition sells for \$7.95.

Cherokee Removal: The "William Penn" Essays and Other Writings is by Jeremiah Evarts who was secretary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions. He strongly opposed the removal of the Cherokee Indians from Georgia and the Carolinas to the West. Writing under the name of William Penn, Evarts was responsible for a series of essays on behalf of Indian rights. His writings have been edited by Francis Paul Prucha who has also contributed an introductory essay and has compiled an index. It was published by the University of Tennessee Press, Knoxville, and sells for \$19.50.

The Conch Book, by Dee Carstarphen, carries the subtitle, "all you ever wanted to know about the Queen Conch from gestation to gastronomy." The booklet lives up to its subtitle. It describes the Queen Conch, what she eats, how she reproduces, who her enemies are, and her family. There is information on how to clean the conch, how to cook it (delectable recipes), and how to serve it. There is a bibliography, and colored and black-and-white sketches. It is published by Pen and Ink Press and distributed by Banyan Books, Inc., Miami, Florida 33143. The price is \$6.95.

Maverick Sea Fare is a Caribbean cook book by Dee Carstarphen. *Maverick* is a small windjammer that takes up to fourteen people sailing in the Caribbean. There is a crew of six, including the cook who believes in serving good food. Vegetables, fruits, and nuts native to the Caribbean form the basis for the recipes and the food served on the *Maverick*. It is no surprise to find the banana, pineapple, mango, coconut, avocado,

guava, lime, papaya, breadfruit, pumpkin, and all kinds of sea-food featured in the recipes. There are also suggestions on how Caribbean rum might best be utilized. This book is also published by Pen and Ink Press, and is distributed by Banyan Books. It sells for \$5.95.

Napoleon and the American Dream, by Ines Murat, was translated from the French by Frances Frenaye. It was published by Louisiana State University Press. It contains brief mention of the activities of Gregor MacGregor and Luis Aury at Fernandina and Amelia Island in 1817, Andrew Jackson's expedition against the Florida Seminoles, and the transfer of Florida sovereignty from Spain to the United States. The book sells for \$17.50.

Standards and Colors of the American Revolution, by Edward W. Richardson, is a reference volume describing the design, emblems, and designations of flags of the Revolution. Included are the flags of the Continental army, navy, and privateers, the thirteen states, the French forces in America, British and Loyalist colors, German colors, and post-war colors. Included are sixty-four color plates, a chronological summary of George Washington's correspondence, orders and events, and other documentation relating to Continental army standards and colors, references to Philadelphia flagmakers and flagpainters, a glossary of military terms and organizations, and a bibliography and index. The book was published by the University of Pennsylvania Press and the Pennsylvania Society of Sons of the Revolution and its Color Guard. The price is \$50.00.

The price for *Discover Florida* by Rolf Tolf was incorrectly given in the review which appeared in the July 1982 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, p. 116. The correct price is \$5.95.

HISTORY NEWS

Announcements and Activities

The Florida Endowment for the Humanities has committed up to \$204,000 to fund a series of projects that will apply aspects of history, philosophy, and literature to help solve some of the problems facing Florida. Special initiatives are projects that are conceived by FEH which then seeks the sponsor most able to conduct the programs. One project, presenting a series of free programs on literature, art, history, and culture through libraries in the rural areas of the state, was allotted \$45,000. An allocation of \$29,000 will be available for communities to help produce studies in local history. Each community chosen will receive up to \$6,000 to work with scholars and editors to put together community self-portraits that explore the past, present, and future of the area. Anyone wishing to sponsor or participate in any of these programs should contact the Florida Endowment for the Humanities, LAT 468, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620 (phone 813-974-4094).

The St. Augustine Historical Society honored J. Carver Harris on the occasion of his retirement as business manager of the St. Augustine Historical Society at a special program, July 13, in the St. Augustine Art Association building. Carver Harris is a well known St. Augustine photographer, as was his father, W. J. Harris. Their work was recognized with a slide show presented at the meeting.

The Florida Folklore Society has been incorporated as a non-profit, educational organization. The Society will provide a central means of collecting and studying Florida folklore through research, field work, and meetings of its membership. Charter memberships are being accepted. Individual membership is \$5.00; institutional, \$10.00; family, \$7.50; and life, \$100. Write Pat Waterman, Department of Anthropology, University of South Florida, Tampa, FL 33620.

The Jacksonville Historical Society has published a list of

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thirteen historical markers in the area which it has distributed to its members. The markers are valuable for any one making a history tour of Jacksonville and nearby areas.

Southern Exposure, the quarterly journal of the Institute for Southern Studies, is seeking contributions from writers, photographers, and scholars for articles on the South. The journal seeks previously unpublished articles, short stories, photographic essays, and poetry dealing with some aspect of the "progressive tradition" of the southern region. Particular emphasis is placed on perspectives and information relating to the South's culture and political economy. Inquiries and manuscripts should be directed to Editors, *Southern Exposure*, Box 531, Durham, NC 27702.

Richard N. Current, University of North Carolina at Greensboro, delivered the 1982 Rembert W. Patrick Lecture at Guilford College on March 3, 1982. He spoke on "Lincoln, the Southerner."

The American Jewish Historical Society announces that three prizes will be awarded during each academic year to recognize and reward meritorious work in the field of American Jewish history. The Leo Wasserman Prize will be awarded for the best article published in the Society's quarterly, *American Jewish History*. The Leo Wasserman Student Essay Prize will be given for the best essay submitted on American Jewish history by a college or university student. The winning essay will be considered for publication in *American Jewish History*. The Administrative Committee Prize will be awarded for the best essay submitted on a topic dealing with local American Jewish history. This winning essay will also be considered for publication in *American Jewish History*. The deadline for submission of entries for the student essay and the local Jewish history essay prizes will be June 30 of each year. Each prize includes a cash award of \$100. For information about award rules, as well as submission procedures, write American Jewish Historical Society, Two Thornton Road, Waltham, MA 02154 (617-891-8110).

The Society of Historians of the Early American Republic has awarded its book prize to Anne C. Rose of Carnegie-Mellon

University for *Transcendentalism as a Social Movement, 1830-1850*, published by Yale University Press. The Society's other prize was won by Dr. Joseph C. Tregle, Jr., University of New Orleans, for his article, "Andrew Jackson and the Continuing Battle of New Orleans." It appeared in the winter issue of the *Journal of the Early Republic*.

The 1981 Richard H. Collins Award for the best article published in the *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society* in 1981 has been given to Lowell H. Harrison of Western Kentucky University for his "George W. Johnson and Richard Hawes, the Governors of Confederate Kentucky," which appeared in the winter 1981 issue. The award recognizes outstanding research and writing.

ANNUAL MEETING

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EIGHTIETH MEETING

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EIGHTIETH
MEETING OF THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
AND
FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION WORKSHOP
1982

PROGRAM

Thursday, May 6

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

Registration: Bahia Mar Hotel and Yachting Center
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION

Business Meeting, 1:00 P.M.

Chair: Linda K. Williams

Afternoon Session

Conversation Workshops

Publications, From Start to Finish

Dr. Samuel Proctor

Editor, *Florida Historical Quarterly*

Registration Methods for the Small Historical Society

Terri S. Horrow, Fort Lauderdale

Fort Lauderdale Historical Society

Historic Preservation in Florida

Linda V. Ellsworth

Historic Pensacola Preservation Board

"Fundraising: The Membership Potential"

Randy Nimnicht

Historical Association of Southern Florida

Evening Session

Publications

Dr. Thelma Peters, Coral Gables

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FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
MEETING OF THE BOARD

Friday, May 7

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY: REGISTRATION
Bahia Mar Hotel and Yachting Center
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Morning Session

FLORIDA HISTORICAL CONFEDERATION SESSION:

Volunteers: Recruitment and Training

Chair: Leslie Rivera

Historical Association of Southern Florida

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY SESSIONS:

Session I: *The Black Experience*

Chair: Dr. Thelma Peters, Coral Gables

*Black Women in Greater Miami's History:
A Study of Survival Against Odds, 1896-1982*

Dorothy Fields

Black Archives, History and Research
Foundation of Southern Florida, Inc., Miami

*Mrs. Lillie A. James and the Horatio Alger
Tradition for Blacks in Pensacola, Florida, 1900-1958*

Dr. James R. McGovern

University of West Florida

Comment: Whittington Johnson

University of Miami

Session II: *Spanish and Indian Women*

Chair: Dr. Jerrell H. Shofner

University of Central Florida

*Women in the Parallel Politics, Hispanic
Indian and Spanish, during the 17th Century*

Dr. Amy Bushnell

Historic St. Augustine Preservation Board

The Seminole Woman: Observation on a Culture Entity

Patsy West, Clearwater

Comment: Harry A. Kersey
Florida Atlantic University

Evening Program

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY BANQUET

Bahia Mar Hotel and Yachting Center

Presiding: Dr. John K. Mahon, president
Florida Historical Society

A New Adventure for Education
Speaker: Dr. Frances B. Kinne
President, Jacksonville University

Presentation of Awards
Florida History Fair Awards
Presented by
Dr. Lucius Ellsworth

Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Award in Florida History
Presented by Dr. Samuel Proctor to John Sugden,
Hull County, Humberside, England

Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award
Presented by Dr. Jerrell Shofner to Dr. J. Leitch Wright,
Florida State University

American Association for State and Local History Awards
Presented by Linda V. Ellsworth to
Judge Donald Cheney, Orlando
Joyce Turner, Pensacola

Saturday, May 8

Morning Session

Session III: *The Immigrant Experience*
Chair: Janet Snyder Matthews, Sarasota

Family and Community: Immigrant Women in Ybor City
Dr. Gary Mormino
University of South Florida

Women in the Cigar Making Industry

Dr. Durward Long

University of Hawaii at Manoa

Comment: Dr. L. Glenn Westfall

Hillsborough Community College

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING

11:00 A.M.

Bahia Mar Hotel and Yachting Center

Tour of the Fort Lauderdale Historic District

MINUTES OF THE BOARD MEETING

Dr. John K. Mahon, president of the Florida Historical Society, called the annual meeting of the board of directors to order at 5:50 p.m., May 6, 1982, at the Bahia Mar Hotel and Yachting Center, Fort Lauderdale, Florida. Present were William R. Adams, Samuel J. Boldrick, Paul E. Camp, Linda V. Ellsworth, Lucius F. Ellsworth, Kendrick Ford, Mildred L. Fryman, Paul S. George, Thomas Graham, Ernest Hall, Daniel Hobby, Peter D. Klingman, W. Sperry Lee, Eugene Lyon, Randy F. Nimnicht, Olive Peterson, Samuel Proctor, Paul W. Wehr, L. Glenn Westfall, and Linda K. Williams. Also attending were Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the Society's *Newsletter*, Glen Dill, chair of the nominating committee, and Mrs. Ernest Hall. Jerrell H. Shofner was absent.

The board unanimously approved the minutes of the December 12, 1981, directors' meeting in Tampa as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LX (April 1982), 535-42.

Paul Camp, executive secretary, presented the financial report for the fiscal year ending December 31, 1981. This report lists the Society's total assets, as of December 31, 1982, as \$78,577.05, representing an increase of \$9,866.89 since December 31, 1980. Total income for fiscal year 1981 was \$34,817.22, including \$20,993.50 from membership; \$8,565.12 from interest and dividends; \$960.85 from sales receipts; \$1,107.50 from contributions; and \$3,190.25 from the annual meeting. Disbursements for the same period totalled \$24,950.33. Major expenses included the printing, mailing, and other publication costs for the *Florida Historical*

Quarterly, the operating costs of the Society's executive office, and the expenses incurred for the annual meeting. Mr. Camp noted that expenses for the latter category (\$4,551.68) exceed annual meeting income by \$1,361.43, further documenting the deficit in the overall 1981 annual meeting budget discussed at the December 1981 board meeting. He also reported that total income for the year fell below the estimated level due to this deficit and to a decline in membership income. Actual expenses exceeded estimated expenses by approximately \$1,000, due mainly to the expenditure of funds authorized by the board, at its midwinter meeting. This had not been anticipated in the estimates. Mr. Camp then presented estimated expenditures for fiscal year 1982; these disbursements are expected to total \$29,934.

Mr. Camp asked the board for guidance concerning the existing collection of back issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. After discussion, Ernest Hall moved that the board direct Mr. Camp to prepare an inventory of past issues of the journal for distribution at the next board of directors meeting. This motion was seconded and approved by the board.

Mr. Camp then presented the membership report which included breakdowns by category and district as requested by the directors. The number of paid members in all categories at the end of 1981 totalled 1,411, a figure derived by counting membership fee payment records. Mr. Camp explained that in the past, total membership figures had been based on *Quarterly* mailing labels. Because this list included recipients of free or multiple copies of the journal, Camp adopted the fee record count method as a more accurate method for obtaining current and future totals.

Mr. Camp next presented a financial summary report for the years 1976 through 1980, prepared in response to a request for this information by the board. This report included assets, income, and disbursements for the indicated period and explanatory comments. Mr. Camp also provided data on the ratio between pre-registrations for meals and on-site meal ticket purchases made at past annual meetings. Because pre-registration records are retained by the Society for one year only, such a report could not be made. As an alternative, Mr. Camp conferred with J. B. Dobkin, former executive secretary who supported the adoption of the meal pre-registration policy beginning with the 1982 meeting. Also included in Mr. Camp's report as a new category of in-

formation were statistics on use of the Society's library. Dr. Lucius Ellsworth commended Mr. Camp on behalf of the board for his work in increasing the amount of statistical information available for consideration by the board and suggested a continuation of this approach. Sperry Lee moved that the board accept Mr. Camp's report, and the motion was approved.

Dr. Samuel Proctor, editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, reported that while the number of articles being submitted for publication in the journal continues to increase, the quality in terms of both research and writing of many of these articles is a matter of grave concern to him. The *Quarterly* continues to need graphics for use on its cover and in illustrating articles. The editor requests the submission of more articles on environmental history and the roles of various minority and ethnic groups in Florida. Dr. Proctor expressed thanks to the University of Florida and to the Department of History for its continuing support of the journal. He also acknowledged his appreciation to the E. O. Painter Printing Company, and especially to Mr. Dick Johnston, for the maintenance of the highest publishing standards. He thanked his editorial assistants, Patricia Wickman and Earl Hendry; the staff of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida; and Joan Morris of the Florida Photographic Archives for their assistance and help. Dr. Proctor announced that the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1980-1981 would be awarded to Dr. John Sugden, Hull County, Humberside, England, for his article, "The Southern Indians in the War of 1812: The Closing Phase," which appeared in the January 1981 issue of the *Quarterly*. The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award would be awarded to Dr. J. Leitch Wright of Florida State University for his publication, *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South*. These presentations will be made at the Society's banquet on Friday, May 7, 1982. Dr. Proctor noted that the Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award would not be given for 1980-1981 because the judges had agreed that no suitable publication had appeared during the year. Dr. Mahon on behalf of the board commended Dr. Proctor for his continuing excellent work in publishing the *Quarterly*.

Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History Newsletter*, reported that he needs more articles and news items for

his publication, although there has been a increase during the past year. To help make the *Newsletter* reflect more accurately the varied Florida history activities and events taking place, the editor requested that the directors establish better contact between his office and local history organizations. The executive secretary will make available to Dr. Greenhaw the upcoming revision of the directory of Florida historical societies for his use in soliciting information and publications. Dr. Greenhaw expressed continuing satisfaction with the new format of the publication and his thanks to the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society for materials from *New River News* used in the August 1981 issue of the *Newsletter*. After discussion, the board authorized Dr. Greenhaw to make an effort to secure support from Florida's business and financial community to aid Confederation activities and to help subsidize publication of the Society's *Newsletter*.

Linda Williams, president of the Florida Historical Confederation, reported that the meetings of that group currently in progress were proceeding satisfactorily. At its executive committee meeting, May 6, 1982, changes in its by-laws, sanctioned by the Society's directors in December 1981, were adopted. Ms. Williams expressed thanks to Dr. Samuel Proctor, Terri S. Horrow, Linda V. Ellsworth, Randy Nimnicht, and Leslie Rivera, and members of the panel on volunteers for their workshop presentations during the current Confederation meeting.

Dr. Paul George, chair of the membership committee, reported concurrence with Paul Camp's membership report. He asked that the directors continue to solicit new members through direct contact.

A report from the finance committee prepared by its chair, Hayes Kennedy, was presented by Olive Peterson. Dividends totalling \$14,106 have accumulated since the investment of \$40,000 of the Society's assets in money market funds in February 1980. The average yield since that date was reported to be 16.25 per cent. The average rate of yield for the period from June 1981, through April 30, 1982, was 13.75 per cent. The finance committee recommends that the Society continue this money market investment. Linda Ellsworth moved that the board commend the committee for its continued work and accept its recommendation. The board passed this motion.

Dr. Lucius Ellsworth reported on the activities of the junior historian committee. Five successful history fairs were held in 1981-1982 in Alachua, Escambia, Orange, Volusia, and St. Lucie counties. Two winning exhibits from each of these fairs were brought to the Society meeting, where judges will select three winners to receive prizes— cash and books— in recognition of the efforts of the other seven participants. Awards will be made at the Society's banquet, May 7, 1982. The junior historian committee reported that these fairs have been very successful in reaching the goals for which they were designed. The committee recommended that the history fair project continue for another year, repeating fairs in the five counties and new ones in Seminole and Okaloosa counties and in two other counties if there are sponsors. It also recommended that the fairs continue to be organized in conjunction with the National History Fair Program, utilizing its 1983 theme, "Turning Points." The committee also recommended that the board authorize the expenditure of \$2,400 to fund the 1983 state-wide project contest and prizes and to provide seed money for new fair projects. Dr. Ellsworth presented a motion that the board adopt these recommendations which was seconded and accepted by the board.

Dr. Ellsworth reported progress on the matter of the teaching of American and Florida history in grades K through 12 of the state's education system discussed by the board at its December 1981 meeting. Dr. Ellsworth has discussed this matter with Commissioner of Education Ralph Turlington. As a result, the Society has been invited to participate in developing objectives for the teaching of Florida studies in the public schools and to provide a list of persons with whom the department of education might consult about various history-oriented activities. After discussion, Eugene Lyon moved that a committee be appointed to discuss with department of education officials the role that the Society could play in encouraging effective teaching of Florida history in all grades, K through twelfth. This motion was approved. In response to further discussion, Dr. Ellsworth moved that the board authorize the president, together with the person appointed to chair this committee, to expend at their discretion up to \$2,000 to defray travel and other costs to carry out the responsibilities of this committee. This motion was approved. Dr. Peter Klingman and Dr. David Colburn of the University of Florida will serve as

co-chairs of this committee. Incoming president Olive Peterson will appoint other committee members.

Randy Nimnicht presented a report from the *Quarterly* book review and book note policy committee. That committee endorses the editor's current policy and recommends that the *Quarterly's* policies regarding reviews and book notes be stated in the journal for the information of readers. Mr. Nimnicht so moved, and the motion was approved.

Dr. Peter Klingman, on behalf of the Halifax Historical Society, reported that plans for the 1983 annual Society meeting in Daytona Beach are progressing. The meeting is scheduled for May 5-7, 1983. The location of the 1984 annual meeting remains undecided. President-elect Olive Peterson announced that the program committee for the 1983 meeting would consist of Eugene Lyon, chair, Vero Beach; William Adams, St. Augustine; Paul George, Miami; Amy Bushnell, St. Augustine; and Mildred Fryman, Tallahassee.

The board's recommendations for the nominating committee for 1982-1983, include George E. Buker, Jacksonville, chair; Thomas Mickler, Chuluota; William Coker, Pensacola; James Knott, West Palm Beach; and Wright Langley, Key West. Dr. Proctor moved that the board approve the nominating committee so constituted, and his motion was accepted.

Glen Dill, chair of the nominating committee for 1981-1982, announced the slate of officers and directors to be recommended to the Society membership at its May 8, 1982, business meeting: directors District I, L. Ross Morrell, Tallahassee; District III: Marcia Kanner, Miami, and Gerald McSwiggan, Miami; District IV: Bettye Smith, Sanford, and Daniel Hobby, Fort Lauderdale (filling vacancy left by resignation of Marjorie Patterson); and at-large, Hampton Dunn, Tampa. Nominated for recording secretary, Jane Dysart, Pensacola, and for vice-president, Lucius Ellsworth, Pensacola. Committee members were Mildred Fryman, co-chair, James W. Covington, Mrs. John Ware, and Arva Moore Parks.

Dr. Ellsworth, chair, presented a report from the committee authorized at the December 1981 board meeting to review options concerning the future staffing, direction, and location of the Society's library and executive office. Other committee members are William Adams, Hampton Dunn, Marcia Kanner, and

Samuel Proctor. The committee recommends that the Society procure the services of a professional historian to be named executive director of the Society, subject to policy decisions of the board of directors. The committee recommends that because of its long relationship with the Society, the University of South Florida should be the first institution to be approached concerning assistance in securing an executive director. The institution would also agree to provide necessary office space, salary, either for a person retained on a one-half-time basis to perform the duties associated with that position, or for half-time services of a person already employed, and all other necessary bookkeeping, clerical, and personnel services. The committee further recommends that the Society provide up to \$5,000 per year for other expenses needed to support this position. Dr. Ellsworth moved that the board authorize the appointment of a new committee to pursue discussion with the University of South Florida on the subject of maintenance of the Society's executive offices as outlined (and, if necessary, to undertake similar discussions with other appropriate institutions), then to report the results of these discussions to the president. The president would be authorized to take whatever action might be necessary if the matter needs to be resolved prior to the board meeting in December 1982. Dr. Ellsworth stated that the committee also recommends that the incoming Society president serve on the new committee. After discussion, this motion was approved by the board. President Mahon then appointed Lucius Ellsworth, Olive Peterson, Hampton Dunn, and William Goza to the committee. The board agreed that incoming president Peterson could alter the composition of this committee.

Dr. Mahon brought to the board's attention the activities of Howard Kleinberg, editor of the *Miami News*, in promoting interest in the history of Miami and South Florida through feature articles and in supporting historic preservation activities. Dr. William Adams moved that the board ask the president to write a letter of thanks to Mr. Kleinberg for his publications and to prepare a resolution of commendation for adoption by the membership at the annual business meeting. Dr. Mahon informed the board that the Society has been asked to send a representative to ceremonies planned for the August dedication of Florida's renovated Old Capitol. The board asked incoming president Olive Peterson to represent the Society together with Nancy Dobson of

the Historic Tallahassee Preservation Board. President Mahon noted a request from Secretary of State George Firestone for the Society's support in urging state acquisition of the San Luis de Talamali mission property in Leon County. The board approved the preparation of a resolution to that effect for membership approval. Dr. Mahon reported that a letter written to Chancellor Barbara Newell of the state university system supporting the inclusion of history among the admission criteria used by the universities had generated a favorable response.

Dr. Mahon then reviewed the membership of committees appointed or continued during his tenure as president. Mrs. Peterson indicated her intention to continue the junior historian and finance committees as presently constituted. The membership committee will consist of O. C. Peterson, chair, Fort Pierce; Kyle Van Landingham, Okeechobee; Gerald McSwiggan, Miami; and Robert Gladwin, Fort Pierce.

The meeting was adjourned at 9:25 p.m.

MINUTES OF THE BUSINESS MEETING

Dr. John Mahon, president, called the annual business meeting of the Florida Historical Society to order on Saturday, May 8, 1982, at 11:20 a.m., at the Bahia Mar Hotel and Yachting Center, Fort Lauderdale, Florida.

The minutes of the May 2, 1981, annual business meeting as published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, LX (October 1981), 259-66, were approved. Paul Camp, executive secretary, gave a report on the Society's financial status. The organization's net worth increased from \$68,710.65 to \$78,577.05 in fiscal 1981. Expenditures for 1981 exceeded estimates by about \$1,000 because of new budget items adopted by the directors at their December 1981 meeting. Revenue fell below the anticipated amount, particularly as a result of losses incurred at the 1981 annual banquet. Measures have been taken to prevent future losses through annual meeting meal expenses. Mr. Camp also reported that a membership study requested by the directors in December 1981 has been submitted to the board. Future membership statistics will be based on number of paying members rather than on *Florida Historical Quarterly* mailing lists; Dr. Mahon thanked the finance committee—William Goza, Milton Jones, and Hayes Kennedy—for its activities during the past year.

Dr. Samuel Proctor reported on the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Issues for the year included the commemorative number (July 1981) devoted to the two-hundredth anniversary of Bernardo de Gálvez's attack on Pensacola (1781), and the one hundred-sixtieth anniversary of the transfer of Florida from Spain to the United States (1821). Dr. Proctor reported continuing increase in the number of articles submitted but expressed deep concern over the poor quality (both research and writing) of many of those articles. The *Quarterly* welcomes graphics for use in the journal, and the editor encouraged the submission of articles on environmental topics, women, and ethnic minorities. He reviewed the journal's book review and book note policy and urged that review copies of all books dealing with Florida be sent to the *Quarterly's* office. Dr. Proctor thanked his editorial board for their support: Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Florida State University; Dr. John Mahon, University of Florida; Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., University of Florida; Dr. Jerrell Shofner, University of Central Florida; Dr. Michael Gannon, University of Florida; and Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, emeritus, University of Miami. The editor acknowledged the cooperation of his editorial assistants, Patricia R. Wickman and Earl Hendry. He thanked Joan Morris of the State Photographic Archives for supplying many of the photographs published in the *Quarterly*, and the staff—Elizabeth Alexander and Dr. Stephen Kerber—of the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, for their help and cooperation. On behalf of the Society, Dr. Proctor thanked the University of Florida and the Florida State Museum for continuing support of the publication of the *Quarterly*. He extended his appreciation to Dick Johnston and the E. O. Painter Printing Company for their continuing excellent work on behalf of the journal.

Dr. Proctor announced that the following awards had been presented at the Society banquet on May 7, 1982: Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1981-1982 to Dr. John Sugden of Hull County, Humberside, England for his article, "The Southern Indians in the War of 1812: The Closing Phase," which appeared in the January 1982 issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The award committee consisted of Linda Ellsworth, Historic Pensacola Preservation Board; Dr. Janice Borton Miller, Tallahassee Community College; and Dr. Eugene Lyon, Vero

Beach. Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award to Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Florida State University, for *The Only Land They Knew: The Tragic Story of the American Indians in the Old South*. Judges were Dr. Steve Lawson, University of South Florida; Dr. William Coker, University of West Florida; and Dr. Jerrell Shofner, University of Central Florida.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award was not presented this year because no suitable publication appeared during 1981-1982. Judges were Dr. Jane Dysart, University of West Florida; Dr. Kevin O'Keefe, Stetson University; and Mildred Fryman, Tallahassee.

Mr. William Goza presented a check for \$1,000 from the Wentworth Foundation, Inc. to Dr. Proctor for support of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor and Dr. Mahon expressed sincere thanks to Mr. Goza and the Wentworth Foundation for its continuing support of the Society and all of its activities.

Dr. Peter Klingman, on behalf of the Halifax Historical Society, announced that the 1983 annual meeting of the Society will be held in Daytona Beach, May 5-7, 1983.

Mr. Goza, chairman of the resolutions committee, presented the following resolutions which were unanimously approved by the membership:

BE IT RESOLVED, by the Florida Historical Society, in annual meeting assembled, as follows:

That the Society extend its appreciation to the sponsoring hosts: Fort Lauderdale Historical Society, Broward County Archaeological Commission, Broward County Historical Commission, Broward County Historical Society, Historic Broward County Preservation Board, Historic Fort Lauderdale Preservation Board, Pembroke Pines Historical Society, Plantation Historical Society, Stranahan House, Inc., Discovery Center, and Coral Springs Historical Society.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That thanks are extended to the program committee: Jane Dysart, chair, and Bettye Smith, for securing an outstanding group of scholars and historians to present the program.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That special notice and

commendation are given to the outstanding contribution to the cause of Florida history by the members of the first Florida History Fair committee: Lucius Ellsworth, chair, Paul Camp, Jane Dysart, Linda Ellsworth, Peter Klingman, Arva Moore Parks, Olive Peterson, Paul Wehr, and Pat Wickman. Notice is also taken of the hard work and good scholarship evidenced by the entrants whose scholastic level ranged from grades four through eleven.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That congratulations are extended to the Union Bank Restoration Committee and its chair, Jan Dunlap, for the success of their efforts to preserve and restore the Union Bank in Tallahassee.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, That Howard Kleinberg editor of the Miami News, be commended for his interest in the history of Miami and South Florida as manifested in feature articles on history and preservation. The articles include narratives and pictorial descriptions of events and people associated with the history of the area, and excerpts from books dealing with Miami and Florida history.

BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, the Florida Historical Society expresses its sorrow and sense of loss in the death of the following members of the Society in the past year:

Mrs. Josephine Dill, New Port Richey, sixteen years
Mrs. H. J. Doherty, Sr., Jacksonville, fifteen years
Dr. Frederick Ebersson, St. Petersburg, twelve years
Mr. J. H. Hunt, Dade City, nineteen years
Mr. Lloyd M. Phillips, Clearwater, eighteen years
Dr. Venila Lovina Shores, Lyndon Center, Vermont, fifty-eight years

WHEREAS San Luis de Talimali was the largest of eighteen Spanish missions in the province of Apalachee in the seventeenth century, and the most important mission outside of St. Augustine; and whereas, the site of San Luis de Talimali has been established by competent research and archeological test excavations as being on what is now called the Messer property at Mission and Ocala Roads in Tallahassee, adjoining property recently acquired for recreational purposes by Leon County and the City of Talla-

hassee; and whereas, the said site is now being given review by the Conservation and Recreation Lands Committee of the State of Florida for possible acquisition; therefore BE IT RESOLVED, that the Florida Historical Society urges the State Conservation and Recreation Lands Committee to include this significant archeological site on the final list for acquisition by the State of Florida, and that the property be given a sufficiently high priority to indicate the importance of its ownership by the State of Florida. BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that a copy of this resolution be sent to the chairman of the Conservation and Recreation Lands Committee, the Honorable John Bethea, Agriculture and Consumer Services Department, Collins Building, Tallahassee, Florida 32301.

Glen Dill, chair of the nominating committee, which included Arva Moore Parks, Mrs. John Ware, Dr. James Covington, and Mildred Fryman, recommended the following slate of candidates to the membership: director for District 1, Ross Morrell, Tallahassee, to fill the position being vacated by Dr. Lucius Ellsworth, Pensacola; directors for District 3, Marcia Kanner and Gerald McSwiggan, both of Miami, to replace Linda Williams and Dr. Paul George, both of Miami; directors for District 4, Bettye Smith, Sanford, to replace Dr. Paul Wehr, Maitland, and Daniel Hobby, Fort Lauderdale, to fill position left vacant by the resignation of Marjorie Patterson of that city; and director-at-large, Hampton Dunn, Tampa, to replace Dr. Thomas Graham, St. Augustine. Jane Dysart, Pensacola, was nominated for the position of recording secretary, and Dr. Lucius Ellsworth, Pensacola, for vice-president. There were no nominations from the floor, and the membership approved the slate.

Dr. Mahon announced the appointment of the committee to consider the future activities of the Society, including Lucius Ellsworth, chair, Olive Peterson, William Goza, and Hampton Dunn.

Dr. Mahon then presented the presidential gavel to Olive Peterson. She expressed to Dr. Mahon on behalf of the Society thanks and appreciation for his dedicated services during the past two years. She presented Dr. Mahon with a plaque in recognition of his work.

Dr. Proctor brought to the attention of the members a request made by Dr. Thomas Greenhaw, editor of the *Florida History*

Newsletter, that all local Florida history-oriented organizations and institutions put the *Newsletter* on their mailing lists to receive any publications.

President Peterson **adjourned** the meeting at 12:15 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,
Mildred L. Fryman
Recording Secretary

GIFTS TO THE SOCIETY

The major money gift to the Society was a check for \$1,000 from the Wentworth Foundation, Inc. It was presented by William M. Goza at the annual meeting in May 1982, and was designated for the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Donations were also made to the Father Jerome Book Fund in memory of Carleton G. Price by Mrs. C. M. Stecher and the Cowles family of Fort Pierce.

Books, pamphlets, newspapers, and manuscripts were received from Robert McClane Adcock, the University of South Florida Associates, the State of Massachusetts Library, Charlotte C. Farley, the Free Press (MacMillan Publishing Co.), the State of Florida, Charlie Morgan, Dena Snodgrass, St. Andrew Press, Marian B. Godown, the John C. Pace Library of the University of West Florida, Rabbi Ralph P. Kingsley, Harold D. Cardwell, the United States Army Corps of Engineers Jacksonville District, J. Augustine, J. L. G. Cowne, Pam Shipp, John C. Fredriksen, Etienne Dupuch, Jr., Wabash College, the Lilly Endowment, Barrett R. Brown, and the Tampa Historical Society.

NEW MEMBERS

For the year 1981

Richard Alterman, Miami
*Cathy Arrowsmith, Altamonte Springs
James L. Bagley, Jr., Casselberry
Margie S. Baldwin, Tampa
Melanie Barr, Gainesville
Henry Barrow, Miami
**Charles A. Beck, Santurce, Puerto Rico
Lawrence S. Berman, Gainesville
Nelson M. Blake, Deerfield Beach
Floyd E. Boone, Bradenton
JoAnn Bove, Lighthouse Point
Mrs. Melvin Boyer, Oklawaha

- Joseph Brinton, III, St. Petersburg
 Dr. Glenn C. Brown, Haines City
 James M. Buckley, St. Augustine
 Liz Bullington, Tampa
 John Bynum, Jr., Gainesville
 Mrs. George Carlson, Stuart
 Homer N. Cato, Sebastian
 Donna M. Cheverton, San Diego, CA
 **Dr. and Mrs. Louis Cimino, Melbourne
 Weona Cleveland, Melbourne
 David Cole, Bryn Mawr, PA
 Ann T. Cook, Temple Terrace
 Stephen B. Davis, Port Richey
 Charles E. Daw, Jacksonville
 George A. Dietz, Sarasota
 Nancy Dobson, Tallahassee
 Ella M. Dodd, Vero Beach
 Glennon Dodd, Vero Beach
 Aimee Simons Due, Miami
 **Mr. and Mrs. Roland L. Dykes, DeLand
 J. Mitchell Ellington, Cocoa
 Howard J. Falcon, Palm Beach
 **Mr. and Mrs. Owen E. Farley, Jr., Pensacola
 Leon Fernald, Tarpon Springs
 Dr. Jose B. Fernandez, Colorado Springs, CO
 Enid F. Fishman, Ozone
 Kendrick T. Ford, Largo
 **Mr. and Mrs. J. C. Fruge, Glenmore, LA
 Mary P. Gifford, Bradenton
 Alfred C. Gonzalez, Tampa
 Lamar T. Graham, Bradenton
 Susan S. Gregg, Tequesta
 Sarah W. Guthrie, Clearwater
 Ernest W. Hall, Fort Myers
 Josephine K. Hall, Delray Beach
 Ray M. Hall, East Palatka
 Dr. Michael Hansinger, Fort Myers
 Kitty Harrison, Miami
 Margaret M. Hawk, Dade City
 Dr. Sherrard L. Hayes, Fort Pierce
 Michael Harnes, Olford, Essex, England
 Kenneth W. Hemsehr, Delray Beach
 Marjorie W. Hightower, Ozone
 Dawn Hoch, Sarasota
 **Mr. and Mrs. E. J. Hogan, Leesburg
 **Mr. and Mrs. S. Lindsey Holland, Jr., Melbourne
 Agnes S. Hough, Orlando
 Leland L. Howard, Orange City
 *Evelyn E. Hudson, Satellite Beach
 Ruth Irvin, Belle Glade
 Helen Hill James, Palmetto
 Frank Johnson, Sugar Land, TX
 Malcolm Johnson, Tallahassee
 Bessie B. Jones, Clewiston
 Wallace M. Jopling, Lake City
 Mildred L. Joy, Bradenton
 Edmund F. Kallina, Jr., Orlando
 Lydia F. Keefe, Jacksonville
 Amir Wali R. Harif, Tallahassee

- Edith R. Lawson, Dunedin
 Norma C. Lehman, Birmingham, AL
 Eugene B. Lenfest, Jr., Okeechobee
 Thomas Lloyd, Orlando
 Scott Loehr, Tallahassee
 Gregory J. Luke, Fort Pierce
 Stuart B. McIver, Lighthouse Point
 *Ruth A. McMurdo, Casselberry
 Joseph McNinch, DeLand
Madison Enterprise-Recorder, Madison
 J. L. Magruder, Chicago, IL
 E. W. Maxson, St. Petersburg
 Joseph Mitchell, Mulberry
 Esther R. Moore, Lake City
 Idella Moore, Tallahassee
 **Joyce and William Morris, Haines City
 Carl M. Moyer, Gainesville
 Mrs. Harry A. Murray, Carrabelle
 Fran Neilsen, Plant City
 **Mr. and Mrs. Robert Noblitt, Noblesville, IN
 Gordon R. Norris, Wauchula
 **Mr. and Mrs. John A. Oliver, Palm Beach Gardens
 E. B. Oyaas, Hickory, NC
 *Derald W. Pacetti, Jr., Tallahassee
 Mrs. Michael Patronis, Tallahassee
 *Bruce J. Piatek, Tallahassee
 Odell Pittenger, Bradenton
 Dorinda Scot Plimpton, North Palm Beach
 Annie M. Raulerson, Okeechobee
 Ben S. Richardson, Bradenton
 Larry E. Rivers, Tallahassee
 H. Franklin Robbins, Jr., Orlando
 Mrs. H. E. Robinson, Jr., Boca Raton
 David R. Robison, St. Petersburg
 **Dr. and Mrs. Lewis H. Rogers, Gainesville
 Jack E. Roland, Palmetto
 Charles Rock Ross, Mill Valley, CA
 Dorothy J. Sandridge, Orange Park
 Herschel E. Shepard, Jacksonville
 Robert B. Sherman, Tampa
 Mrs. Carl A. Sims, Madison
 Helen T. Smith, Ocala
 *Bonnie Stark, Tallahassee
 Hill Stiggins, Maitland
 Dr. W. D. Sugg, Bradenton
 Eugene J. Sullivan, St. Augustine
 Harold Taylor, Pensacola
 **Mr. and Mrs. John Taylor, Jr., Eastpoint
 *Raymond Vinson Taylor, Ormond Beach
 Laura Thayer, West Palm Beach
 Carl Eric Thomas, Jacksonville
 Mr. and Mrs. Frank Thomas, Lake Wales
 Guilda T. Thomson, Gainesville
 Arthur R. ToIp, Sr., Fort Myers
 Joseph A. Tomberlin, Valdosta, GA
 Herman Ulmer, Jr., Jacksonville
 Linda Vance, Bryan, TX
 James R. Ward, Jacksonville
 **Mr. and Mrs. George W. Wertz, Jacksonville

Martha L. Whelchel, Fort Pierce
Mrs. Helen Whittington, Mount Dora

*Barbara A. Wideman, Sarasota

Nell W. Wilkins, Bradenton

Dr. Frank M. Williams, Clearwater

Frederick Williams, Jacksonville

Martha D. Woelk, Merritt Island

Doris Woodard, Bushnell

Norma M. Wrigley, Miami

**Andre and Gitta Wybou, Vero Beach

*Katherine S. Yost, Gainesville

Len Zilles, Lake Mary

Historical Societies

Fort Myers Historical Museum

Key West Art and Historical Society

Longboat Key Historical Society

Libraries

Boca Raton Public Library

Escambia High School, Pensacola

Florida Classics Library, Port Salerno

Highland Oaks Junior High School, North Miami Beach

Howard University Library, Washington, DC

Lake Wales Public Library

Manatee County Historical Library, Bradenton

Marianna Middle School

Miami N. W. Senior High School

Ormond Beach Public Library

Pensacola Naval Air Station

Holland Library, Washington State University, Pullman, WA

Woman's Club Library, Crescent City

Gos Pub Istoricheskaja, Moscow, Soviet Union

*Student Membership

**Family Membership

TREASURER'S REPORT

January 1, 1981-December 31, 1981

Net Worth, December 31, 1981 _____ \$78,577.05

Current Assets:

University State Bank (Tampa, FHS checking) _____	\$ 4,408.44	
University State Bank (Florida Historical Confederation checking) _____	1,200.53	
University of South Florida account 76-9902-000 _____	-392.20	
First Federal Savings & Loan Assn. Gainesville _____	1,030.91	
Fortune Federal Savings & Loan (Thompson Fund) _____	3,766.73	
Tampa Federal Savings & Loan _____	4,580.42	
Fortune Federal Savings & Loan (Yonge Publication Fund) _____	336.67	
University State Bank (Tampa) _____	2,597.47	
Freedom Federal Savings & Loan (Tampa) _____	10,365.08	
E. F. Hutton _____	50,557.00	
Middle South Utilities (126 Shares) _____	126.00	\$78,577.05

Receipts:

Memberships:

Annual _____	\$11,614.50	
Family _____	1,875.00	
Contributing _____	500.00	
Library _____	5,344.00	
Historical _____	720.00	
Student _____	210.00	
Florida Historical Confederation (Annual) _____	730.00	\$20,993.50

Contributions:

Wentworth Foundation, Inc. _____	\$ 1,000.00	
Father Jerome Book Fund _____	60.00	
Miscellaneous _____	47.50	\$ 1,107.50

Other Receipts:

Quarterly Sales _____	\$ 284.47	
Index _____	180.00	
Directory _____	10.00	
Duplicating _____	279.58	
Labels _____	176.80	
Photographs _____	25.00	
Book _____	5.00	\$ 960.85

Interest:

First Federal _____	55.16	
Fortune Federal _____	\$ 201.56	
Tampa Federal _____	243.23	
Fortune Federal _____	17.96	
University State Bank _____	127.71	
Freedom Federal _____	554.64	\$ 1,200.26

Dividends:

E. F. Hutton _____	\$ 7,360.00	
Middle South Utilities _____	4.86	\$ 7,364.86

Disbursements:

Florida Historical Quarterly Printing and Mailing _____	\$13,410.85	
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FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

243

Mailer Labels and Envelopes _____	835.20	
Post Office Box Rental _____	26.00	
Stationary and Envelopes _____	90.28	
University of Florida Teaching Resources Center (photographs) _____	11.45	\$14,373.78
Annual Meeting:		
Expenses _____	\$ 4,101.68	
Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize _____	150.00	
Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prize Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Award _____	150.00	\$ 4,551.68
Other Expenses:		
Florida Historical Society Newsletter _____	\$ 702.00	
Postage _____	1,312.38	
Telephone _____	20.19	
Duplicating _____	441.27	
Educational Resources _____	144.09	
December Board Meeting _____	26.35	
Labels _____	132.87	
Supplies _____	650.15	
Insurance _____	49.00	
Taxes _____	51.00	
History Fair _____	1,288.29	
Transfers _____	25.00	
C. P. A. (preparing income tax) _____	75.00	
Florida Historical Confederation Administrative _____	100.00	
Bank Charges (Florida Historical Confederation) _____	7.28	\$ 5,024.87
Net Income _____		\$ 7,676.64
Balance, December 31, 1981 _____		\$78,577.05

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

1982

Oct. 27-29	Southeastern Archaeological Conference	Memphis, TN
Oct. 28-30	Florida Trust for Historic Preservation	Jacksonville, FL
Nov. 3-6	Southern Historical Association	Memphis, TN
Nov. 3-6	North American Conference on British Studies	Memphis, Tenn.
Nov. 6	Florida Paleontological Society	Gainesville
Nov. 19-21	Southern Jewish Historical Society	New Orleans, LA
Dec. 27-30	American Historical Association	Washington, D.C.

1983

Apr. 6-9	Organization of American Historians	Cincinnati, OH
April	Florida Anthropological Society	Tallahassee, FL
May 5	Florida Historical Confederation	Daytona Beach, FL
May 6-7	FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY— 81st MEETING	Daytona Beach, FL

A GIFT OF HISTORY

A MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS AN EXCELLENT GIFT IDEA FOR BIRTHDAYS, GRADUATION, OR FOR ANYONE INTERESTED IN THE RICH AND COLORFUL STORY OF FLORIDA'S PAST.

A one-year membership costs only \$15.00, and it includes four issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, the *Florida History Newsletter*, as well as all other privileges of membership. A personal letter from the Executive Secretary of the Society will notify the recipient of your gift of your generosity and consideration. Convey your respect for that special person's dignity and uniqueness. What better way to express your faith in the lessons of the past and to celebrate old friendships?

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University of South Florida Library
Tampa, Florida 33620

Please send as a special gift:

- ☐ Annual membership— \$15
- ☐ Family membership— \$20
- ☐ Contributing membership— \$50
- ☐ Student membership— \$10
- ☐ Check or money order enclosed
- ☐ Cash enclosed

TO

FROM

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905

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RANDY NIMNIGHT, *president-elect*
LUCIUS V. ELLSWORTH, *vice-president*
JANE DYSART, *recording secretary*
PAUL EUGEN CAMP, *executive secretary and Librarian*
SAMUEL PROCTOR, *editor, The Quarterly*

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WILLIAM R. ADAMS <i>St. Augustine</i>	PETER D. KLINGMAN <i>Daytona Beach</i>
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MARCIA KANNER <i>Coral Gables</i>	GLENN WESTFALL <i>Tampa</i>

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. Annual membership is \$15; family membership is \$20; a contributing membership is \$50. In addition, a student membership is \$10, but proof of current status must be furnished.

All correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Paul Eugen Camp, Executive Secretary, Florida Historical Society, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida 33620. Inquires concerning back numbers of the *Quarterly* should be directed also to Mr. Camp.

